

MEN WHO CONTROL OUR UNIVERSITIES

*THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMPOSITION
OF GOVERNING BOARDS OF THIRTY
LEADING AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES*

HUBERT PARK BECK

With a Foreword by
GEORGE S. COUNTS



KING'S CROWN PRESS
MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS, NEW YORK

MEN WHO CONTROL
OUR UNIVERSITIES

THE
LIBRARY OF THE
MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
NEW YORK

MEN WHO CONTROL OUR UNIVERSITIES

*THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMPOSITION
OF GOVERNING BOARDS OF THIRTY
LEADING AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES*

HUBERT PARK BECK

With a Foreword by
GEORGE S. COUNTS



KING'S CROWN PRESS
MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS, NEW YORK

1947

COPYRIGHT 1947 BY

HUBERT PARK BECK

Printed in the United States of America

by Vermont Printing Co.

KING'S CROWN PRESS

is a division of Columbia University Press organized for the purpose of making certain scholarly material available at minimum cost. Toward that end, the publishers have adopted every reasonable economy except such as would interfere with a legible format. The work is presented substantially as submitted by the author, without the usual editorial attention of Columbia University Press.

H M S

First printing 1947

Second printing 1948

FOREWORD

THERE WAS a time not so long ago when any inquiry into the relations of our universities to social forces was regarded as improper. It was assumed that institutions of higher learning operate in a realm of disinterested scholarship far above the play of social forces. It was assumed further that members of boards of trustees, when they sit in conference on educational policy, dissociate themselves from their interests as private citizens and become the guardians of universal truth.

Today no thoughtful student of education would support this view. Yet we have had very few scholarly studies of that uniquely American institution, the lay board of trustees, which links the university to society and generally has the final word on all matters of large policy. Such studies are particularly necessary in an age like the present when the balance of social forces is undergoing profound change. Clearly the time has come for directing the attention of both educators and citizens to the question of the reconstruction of this institution. The inherited pattern, with its limitation of membership almost wholly to a small segment of the population, obviously requires modification.

Dr. Beck's study is the first really penetrating and scholarly inquiry in this field. In both the assembling and the treatment of data he has gone far beyond the work of any other investigator. Also, in the light of his findings, he makes a series of recommendations for the reform of these boards that deserve careful consideration. *Men Who Control Our Universities* is a notable work which should be studied and discussed by all who are interested in the course of higher education in the United States.

GEORGE S. COUNTS

New York City
January 16, 1947

PREFACE

THIS BOOK has been written in the hope that it will enlarge the perspective of American teachers, parents, students, educational administrators, and other citizens in viewing the forces that are shaping American education, public and private, particularly at the college and university level. An increase in understanding may serve in turn to facilitate the task of persons seeking to lessen the role of higher education as a class instrument and to increase its service for the common good.

The first six chapters provide the background for the study, setting forth among other major considerations the remarkable growth of American higher education and some revealing indications of the extent to which a few universities and their governing boards occupy a dominant position. Chapters VII through XIII describe the findings of the biographical analysis of the trustees of the leading universities studied, together with the results of the opinion poll and of the examination of salaries received and income taxes paid. The final chapter presents a somewhat detailed commentary on the findings, and concludes with a number of proposals for improving the composition of governing boards.

The author's obligations to others who have assisted in this enterprise are too numerous to mention here fully. Particular gratitude is due to the following: to Professors George S. Counts, John K. Norton, Donald P. Cottrell, George D. Strayer, William H. Kilpatrick, and Jesse H. Newlon, from whose teachings came the realization of the need for this study, and from whom came also personal encouragement; to his sister, Camille Beck, who helped gather the data; to Sarah Ford McDuffie, whose fidelity, accuracy, and skill in coding and tabulating the data deserve high praise; to Mary Helen Carpenter, Elizabeth Bradley, D. D. Droba, Herman O. Duncan, Sara Frances Duncan, Flora Huggins, Evelyn Kerr, F. E. Louraine, Eleanor Poland, Edgar L. Paris, Virginia Proctor, Hallie Mae Reed, Robert N. Stanforth, and Adele Teschion, all of whom shared in some measure the labor of the research; to Eduard C. Lindeman, Lucille B. Milner, and Malcolm M. Willey, who made available important records; to Earl J. McGrath, for a critical reading of an early draft; to various staff members of Teachers College Library, Columbia University, the University of Min-

nesota Library, the Rhode Island State College Library, and the Library of Congress; and especially to Dorothy Fahs Beck, his wife, whose able and faithful help was invaluable, particularly in the latter stages of the study.

Permission to quote from copyrighted materials has been granted by the following: *American Journal of Science*, American Association of University Professors, American Council on Education, *American Teacher*, D. Appleton-Century Co., W. A. Ashbrook, Association Press, M. M. Chambers, *Education*, Walter C. Eells, Edwin R. Embree, Ginn and Co., Harcourt, Brace and Co., *Harper's Magazine*, D. C. Heath and Co., Houghton Mifflin Co., B. W. Huebsch (Viking Press), Iowa State College Press, *Journal of Higher Education*, Macmillan Co., A. N. Marquis Co., McGraw-Hill Book Co., Scott Nearing, Oxford University Press, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, D. B. Prentice, *New Republic*, Science Press (American Association for the Advancement of Science), *School and Society*, and Stephen S. Visser.

H. P. B.

CONTENTS

I. THE PROBLEM AND ITS IMPORTANCE	1
II. PREVIOUS STUDIES OF GOVERNING BOARD MEMBERS	8
III. THE PLAN AND PROCEDURES OF THE STUDY	14
IV. SIZE AND EMINENCE OF THE UNIVERSITIES SELECTED	21
V. POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF UNIVERSITY GOVERNING BOARDS	28
VI. QUALIFICATIONS RECOMMENDED FOR UNIVERSITY GOV- ERNING BOARD MEMBERS	35
VII. OCCUPATIONS OF GOVERNING BOARD MEMBERS	47
VIII. INCOMES OF GOVERNING BOARD MEMBERS	62
IX. MAJOR BUSINESS OFFICES HELD BY GOVERNING BOARD MEMBERS	74
X. AGES OF GOVERNING BOARD MEMBERS	84
XI. SEX, RESIDENCE, AND REGION OF BIRTH OF GOVERNING BOARD MEMBERS	92
XII. MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION ON GOVERNING BOARD MEMBERS	98
XIII. METHODS OF APPOINTMENT AND LENGTH OF SERVICE IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS	116
XIV. CONCLUDING COMMENT	128
EXHIBIT A: NAMES OF TRUSTEES STUDIED	161
EXHIBIT B: BIOGRAPHICAL BLANK	167
EXHIBIT C: TABLES	168
NOTES	199
INDEX	223

TABLES

1. Universities and Number of Trustees Included in Study, by Type of Institution	168
2. Proportion of Faculty, Students, and Degrees in Higher Education, 1935-36, under the Control of the 30 Governing Boards Studied	169
3. Proportion of Receipts, Expenditures, and Property in Higher Education, 1935-36, under the Control of the 30 Governing Boards Studied	170
4. Various Indications of Eminence of the 30 Leading Universities Studied	171
5. Occupational Distribution of Trustees, by Type of University	173
6. Occupational Distribution of Trustees, by University	174
7. Occupational Distribution of Trustees Included in This Study and of Persons Listed in <i>Who's Who in America</i> , 1934-35	176
8. Occupational Distribution of Trustees Compared with That of All Workers in the United States	177
9. Occupational Distribution of Trustees of 20 Institutions of Higher Learning, by Decades, 1860-1930, as Reported by McGrath, and of Trustees of the 30 Institutions Analyzed in This Study, 1934-35	178
10. Occupational Distribution of Male Trustees on Governing Boards of State Institutions of Higher Education as Found by This Study and as Reported by Counts	179
11. Occupational Distribution of Trustees in This Study and of Trustees Analyzed by Nearing, 1917	180
12. Occupational Distribution of Trustees of Nongovernmental Universities and of American Foundations	181
13. Distribution of Minimum Incomes of 302 Trustees for Whom Data Were Available	182
14. Arrays of Known Taxable Incomes (1924) and Salaries (c. 1935) of Trustees, by University	183
15. Distribution of Minimum Incomes of 297 Trustees in the Two Major Occupational Groups for Whom Income Data Were Available	186
16. Major Offices or Directorships Held by University Trustees in Various Types of Business Enterprises	187
17. Major Offices or Directorships in the 400 Largest Business Organizations in the United States Held by the University Trustees Studied	188
18. Percentage of Trustees Holding Major Offices or Directorships in Various Types of Business Enterprises, by University	189
19. Percentage of Trustees Holding Major Offices or Directorships in One or More of the 400 Largest Businesses, by University	190
20. Age and Length of Service of Trustees, by University	191
21. Age Distribution of University Trustees and Certain Other Groups	192
22. Urban-rural Distribution of Place of Residence of Trustees, by Type of University	193
23. Distribution of Trustees by Region of Birth and Region of Residence as Compared with Distribution of Universities Studied and Total Population	194
24. Opinion Poll Responses of 301 Trustees and Corresponding United States Voting Records and Gallup Poll Responses	195
25. Number of Trustees Designated by Various Methods, by University	197
26. Methods of Designating Trustees in Relation to Characteristics of Trustees	198

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND ITS IMPORTANCE

These twenty thousand men and women [governing board members] control the purposes and power of colleges and universities, and through them, in large measure, the distinctive characteristics of American civilization—ELLIOTT, CHAMBERS, AND ASHBROOK.¹

THE BASIC PLAN OF THE STUDY

IN THE RAPIDLY changing pattern of current society, universities occupy a key position of power and influence. To an important degree the control of these universities rests with their governing boards, who make many basic decisions that embody choice among conflicting ideologies and group needs. In view of the importance of these trustees to the public welfare, the present study is designed primarily to find and analyze available objective evidence regarding the social and economic characteristics of the members of the governing boards of thirty leading American universities. Secondly, it undertakes, in conclusion, to evaluate—necessarily in more subjective terms—some of the social and educational implications of the characteristics of these board members and to point to certain readjustments in the composition of such boards that seem, in the author's judgment, to be indicated. The data collected and analyzed regarding board members pertain to their occupations, incomes, business offices and directorships, age, sex, residence, type of board membership, and length of service, together with other more miscellaneous information likewise suggesting their social and economic orientation. Such facts are purposely selected for intensive analysis since the author believes, but does not undertake to prove, that these characteristics of board members significantly affect their decisions on basic university policy.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM OF CONTROL

Under any form of government the control of education is a basic public problem. In building and maintaining their power the Nazis, the Fascists, the Communists, and the Japanese Imperialists all recognized frankly its importance and took drastic measures to assure that educational institutions under their control serve the ends set by their basic ob-

jectives and philosophy. In the United States the problem of control is complicated by a greater diversity of views as to national ends and means and by a greater multiplicity of educational institutions and organizations without a central controlling authority; it is confused further by a vast amount of propaganda on various critical issues, and is overshadowed by various other problems of immediate urgency. Despite general obscurity regarding the issues of control at all levels of education from the neighborhood nursery to the university, efforts toward control of specific aspects by special interest groups are by no means lacking. Here and there, one group strives to improve the physical well-being of the pupils; another, to increase the study of specific vocational subjects; one, to decrease educational budgets; another, to increase budgets; yet another, to secure the appointment, promotion, or discharge of some individual; and still another, to remove some controversial book from the reach of the young. The significance of the total cumulative effect of these efforts on public education is easy to overlook. Even more hidden, but inseparable from these specific efforts toward control are the conflicts of ideologies respecting progress, democracy, morals, religion, science, capitalism, labor, agrarianism, and numerous other aspects of the evolving pattern of American life. The struggle to determine the role of the schools in the resolution of these larger national conflicts proceeds unceasingly on all levels of education. The present study endeavors to throw light on certain very limited phases of these conflicts at the university level. To this end the members of the controlling boards of thirty leading universities in this country have been singled out for special study.

THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The focus of the present study on the control of higher education is particularly timely in view of the growing importance of higher education in our national life and its potential influence on the nature and direction of social change. Between 1900 and 1936 the number of students enrolled in higher education in the United States increased more than four-fold. When restated in terms of the proportion of college-age youth enrolled in institutions of higher education, the increase during this period is still greater than three-fold.² Higher education is now one of the major enterprises of the nation. Before the present postwar educational boom, its students numbered more than a million and its teaching faculty and specialized staff, exclusive of clerical and custodial workers, over 110,000. In the school year 1935-36 expenditures for higher educational institutions totalled \$589,000,000—only 10 percent less than the total revenue received by the federal government in 1936 from personal and corporate income taxes. Considered in other terms, the expenditures of

higher educational institutions in the United States may be thought of as greater than the total combined income in 1935 of the populations of Vermont, Delaware, Nevada, and North Dakota.³

More important than its growth and size is the role of higher education in molding the lives of the country's future leaders. Today in the United States no youth dreams of entering the professions of medicine, dentistry, law, or teaching without first studying at some appropriate institution of higher learning. Graduation from college or its equivalent is now required for practically all professional civil service positions in the federal government, and for many on the state and local level as well. Eighty-two percent of the persons listed in the 1934-35 edition of *Who's Who in America* attended college,⁴ the great majority of whom attended before the year 1900, when less than 4 percent of the youth between 18 and 21 were enrolled in higher education courses. Likewise, college graduates are found in higher proportions in the more responsible business positions than in those of lesser rank and status.⁵

Neither the foregoing indications of size, nor those of prominence in the training of eminent citizens, reveal adequately the expanding role of higher education in social change. The constantly increasing contributions from university laboratories, farms, experiment stations, and professional schools to important scientific and technological developments, although well-known, are all too easily forgotten. Countless other scientific discoveries and inventions, seemingly originating outside university circles, actually are based on university research and are conceived and developed by persons who in their educational backgrounds are products of higher education.

The role of universities in relation to change in the political, economic, and social structure is by no means as clear as their role in relation to technological advance. An obvious evidence of university influence in the political sphere is the practice of calling university professors for expert testimony on such governmental problems as taxation, monetary policy, business cycles, and unemployment. Another is the frequent granting of leaves of absence to university staff members to permit them to devote all their time to government work. The technics of public opinion polls, developed at several universities, afford another conspicuous illustration of such university influence. In addition, universities sometimes foster change indirectly through their policy of requiring "a contribution to human knowledge" from candidates for the doctorate. The selective influence of the university through encouragement of certain types of investigations and through disapproval of others is great indeed. Nevertheless, the role of universities in fostering change is less clear in the social than in the natural sciences, for the resistance of human institutions to

innovation must be reckoned with. As Charles A. Beard has pointed out, "the ideology which surrounds political institutions generally runs against the notion that social inventiveness is an essential quality of the good citizen."⁶ The same persons and organizations that foster unrestrained development of the natural sciences and technology commonly favor development in the social sciences in certain restricted channels only.

These comments are not intended to intimate that in the social sciences universities are operating in a wholly negative fashion, or wholly in support of the *status quo*, for a number of illustrations of reforms receiving university stimulation or encouragement might be cited.⁷ Such instances of specific criticisms or reforms of university origin, however, illustrate rather the role of the university as a selective agent, for it must be remembered always that certain other criticisms and proposed reforms may have been suppressed, deprecated, or ignored. With the swelling of enrollments in higher education, and with the development of university schools for journalists, educators, and workers in several other types of key positions, this selective function of higher education has become vastly more important than in earlier years.

The sponsorship of educational changes by universities in the last few decades has constituted an especially important channel for their growing influence on the thought and action of the American people, both in the technical and social field. Developments that have contributed to this result have been the increase in the number and size of these institutions, the growth of graduate study, the rapid proliferation of the curriculum, the elective system, the development of personnel programs and guidance practices, the emphasis upon research and experimentation, the creation of demonstration schools, the growth of apprentice-teaching, the increased certification requirements for teachers, the pressures for higher degrees, and the appearance of a host of educational specialties. With education in most parts of the world undergoing much criticism and change, the universities have provided a place where such changes could be studied, nurtured, and guided. After making due allowance for important sources of educational change outside the universities, as for example the departments of research in school systems of large cities and instances of leadership in certain state and city systems, it can still be said that in the United States at present the universities exercise profound influence over both public and private education at all levels. As Cubberley expressed it in the year 1925, "in the field of education . . . almost the entire subject has been created anew in the universities during the past twenty-five years."⁸

Who then in the United States of America wield the control of this highly important educational instrument of expanding influence on the

youth of today, on the leaders of tomorrow, and on the technological and social life of world society? Legally, at least, and probably to a large extent also in practice, the basic policies of these institutions of higher learning are controlled by their governing boards. Not all university boards, however, are equally influential. Unquestionably outstanding are the boards of a small group of thirty universities of recognized eminence that dominate to a remarkable extent the course and pattern of all university and college study. The members of the controlling boards of these thirty universities belonging to the Association of American Universities number a mere 734, a group not much larger than the United States Congress. Although differing from Congress in many respects, these boards resemble this federal body in their strategic role and probable ultimate influence on the course of American life. It is the 734 members of these particular boards who have been singled out for analysis in this study.

LIMITATIONS AND BASIC ASSUMPTIONS OF THE STUDY

The approach in this study to the analysis of university control is admittedly oblique. Instead of studying directly the actual functioning of these boards and their influence on university policies, the report merely presents and analyzes chiefly such significant social and economic information about the members as can be found in various public records. Previous investigators have also used this indirect approach, doubtless because to them, as to the present author, the direct approach was impractical, especially since interest centered on the social implications of the process of university control.

The difficulties of the direct approach are readily apparent. Usually, no verbatim record of board deliberations, and often not even a summary, is made available for public study. Even if such records were available, they would be inadequate as a revelation of the struggle for control, for much significance often inheres in a tone of voice, a nod of the head, a smile, or a single gesture. Also, many conversations and other situations that affect decisions on university policy occur away from board meetings, under circumstances that cannot be separated from the daily contacts, thoughts, and feelings of members. The impact of an individual's social orientation on his acts is likewise exceedingly subtle, and often is revealed only implicitly through casual conversations, actions, or lack of action. Doubtless many board members and administrative officials are quite unaware of the functions they perform in relation to the social stratification of contemporary society. Obviously the details necessary for a frontal attack on the problem of understanding the control processes are almost completely lacking to an outsider. A critical observer would seldom if ever be admitted to board meetings and if he were, freedom of expression by

board members would be so inhibited as to preclude valid findings. On the other hand, a participant (i.e. a fellow board member) would not be free to reveal critical observations, lest he offend, if not actually betray, colleagues on the board and thus seriously prejudice future relationships. Thus resort to an indirect approach seemed the only alternative.

In the use of this method, however, the following two basic assumptions are made, which the study does not undertake to prove: (1) that the boards are more than mere figureheads and actually do decide basic matters of university policy, and (2) that knowledge of group composition in terms of the occupation, income, age, sex, residence, corporation connections, etc., of board members is important in understanding and predicting group judgments and actions on policy issues. Data pertinent to the first assumption are reviewed briefly in Chapter V, which deals with the legal powers and functions of university boards. Only the most intimate knowledge of the actual functioning of these boards, however, could establish the extent to which these powers and functions are actually exercised. In practice, some of the powers must necessarily be delegated to the university president, the administrative officers, and to a lesser extent to the faculty; to these subordinates the boards doubtless often turn for the factual basis for decisions. On the other hand, the university president and his hierarchy of subordinates regularly carry on in close conformity to what is believed to be the wishes of the governing board. To the extent that the reader believes that governing boards do not actually determine policy, the findings should be discounted as an indication of the nature and direction of the controls of higher education. Some discussion of the second assumption appears in chapter introductions and at other points, but direct proof is not undertaken since the offering of such evidence would involve major and impractical digressions into social psychology and the related social sciences. As to its general validity, however, the author personally has little doubt, for to assume otherwise would be to overlook basic tenets of sociology and psychology.

In addition to these limitations inherent in the method adopted, the area of study was restricted for practical reasons in two other less basic respects: (1) the analysis dealt primarily with 30 leading universities, the total United States membership of the Association of American Universities, and (2) the study undertook to depict a cross section of board membership at one particular time rather than historical trends. Both limitations of scope were essential to intensive study. Because of the first limitation, the reader is cautioned against assuming the findings to be equally valid for all institutions of higher learning. Since the trustees of smaller, less eminent institutions are undoubtedly less highly selected, the group studied must not be considered a representative sampling of

university and college boards in general. Consequently, the findings must not be uncritically applied to other universities. It is the key position of these universities, as demonstrated in Chapter IV, that gives the findings general significance—not any presumed representativeness of some larger universe. Likewise, in view of the second limitation, the findings must not be assumed to be relevant beyond the general historical period to which they apply. Since board members' terms are long and overlapping, however, board composition changes slowly, as do also the underlying social and economic conditions that their membership reflects; thus the findings can be assumed to be typical of these university boards beyond a given year, and probably beyond a single decade.⁹ Nevertheless, the fundamental nature of governing boards does change significantly in the course of half a century or more, as another study has demonstrated.¹⁰ After a review of present findings, one might perchance venture certain personal predictions of the more distant future, but their validity could be established or refuted only by the passage of time.

The import of these comments as to the problem and its importance, limitations, and underlying assumptions will become further apparent in the remainder of this report. In the early chapters that follow, various background information is presented, including a review of previous studies, a detailed statement of the method and sources, a survey of the eminence of the universities studied, a discussion of the legal powers and functions of governing boards, and a review of the judgments of others as to what qualifications are desirable in trustees. Beginning with Chapter VII, the statistical findings are presented and analyzed. The final chapter comments on the significance of the findings for higher education and social policy.

CHAPTER II

PREVIOUS STUDIES OF GOVERNING BOARD MEMBERS

When one has sensitized himself to the dangers to democracy inherent in a "packed" school board, regardless of whether the packing be accidentally or designedly effected, he cannot fail to be perturbed, provided he is desirous of seeing the democratic way of life maintained and strengthened, by the picture of the school-board situation in the United States which researchers probing into the facts of board membership have made available to us—HAROLD C. HAND.¹

CHARACTERISTICS OF PREVIOUS STUDIES OF UNIVERSITY TRUSTEES

DESPITE THEIR STRATEGIC ROLE, the members of governing boards of American universities have been the object of relatively little intensive investigation. A search of the literature disclosed only three such studies published in detail. Basically all three were analyses of the occupational distribution of governing board members, and in so far as they dealt with higher education, all were brief. One was concerned primarily with the boards of education of public elementary and secondary schools; the other two were of very limited scope, their combined length totalling only 17 printed pages. These three studies have been supplemented by an occasional paragraph appearing in print summarizing in a very general way an unpublished investigation.

The first of the three published studies was conducted by Scott Nearing and appeared in 1917.² In the *Educational Directory*,³ Nearing found listed 189 institutions with student enrollments of 500 or more. Of these institutions, 143 supplied him with lists giving the occupations of their governing board members. These lists formed the basis of his analysis and necessarily limited the factual data to occupational and sex distributions. Nearing found that women constituted 3 percent of the total group of trustees, but less than one percent of the trustees of denominational institutions. In regard to occupational distribution, he concluded:

The college and university boards are almost completely dominated by merchants, manufacturers, capitalists, corporation officials, bankers, doctors, lawyers, educa-

tors and ministers. These nine occupations contain a total of 1,936 persons, nearly four-fifths of the total number of trustees. . . .

A new term must be coined to suggest the idea of an educational system owned and largely supported by the people but dominated by the business world. Perhaps "plutocratized education" will prove as acceptable as any other phrase.

Ten years later, an analytical study by George S. Counts appeared in this area, under the title, *The Social Composition of Boards of Education: A Study in the Social Control of Public Education*.⁴ Counts' study dealt primarily with the members of boards of education of public elementary and secondary schools on the district, city, county, and state level. These he compared briefly with state college and university boards. His findings indicated that among these various types, college and university boards had the highest proportion of proprietors (33 percent), and except for state boards of education, also the highest proportion of professional persons (41 percent), but no representation at all from manual labor.⁵ In comparing the agricultural college boards with those of other colleges and universities included in his study, Counts commented:

Apparently, farmers are thought to have some special rights or interests with respect to the control of the agricultural college, but in the control of other forms of education they are assumed to have neither rights nor interests.⁶

Counts' findings substantiated, in general, those of Nearing, but added information on other factors, such as age and education. He summed up his view of the significance of his findings for public education at all levels as follows:

Is the school to be conceived as a broadly educative agency, an agency which may be trusted to strive earnestly, and without prejudice, to give to the youth of the nation genuine insight into the present complex industrial civilization, or is it to become an instrument by means of which some dominant class or sect impresses upon the mind of the coming generation its own special bias or point of view? That the latter conception of the school may triumph in our society is suggested by certain of the data brought to light in the present investigation. . . .

We may at least harbor the hope that the school at some time and place may serve the larger and more generous purpose.⁷

The other of these three major previous studies of the social composition of American college and university governing boards is that by Earl J. McGrath. McGrath expended great effort to discover the occupations of trustees of 15 private colleges and universities and 5 state institutions at ten-year intervals from 1860 to 1930, and to present the trends.⁸ He reported that in 1860 clergymen comprised 39 percent of the membership of the governing boards of these private institutions, but by 1930 had dropped to 7 percent. During the same period, the percent of business men, exclusive of bankers, rose from 23 to 32, and that of bankers, from

5 to 20.⁹ For the state institutions studied, business men were still at the same level of 24 percent in 1930 that they started with in 1860, but bankers had increased from 4 to 13 percent, while farmers had declined from 15 percent to 9. At no time was any board member classified as a laborer or a mechanic and only a few in any decade were engineers or housewives.¹⁰ On the basis of his findings, McGrath concluded:

. . . In so far as the institutions selected represent other similar institutions, the control of higher education in America, both public and private, has been placed in the hands of a small group of the population, namely financiers and business men. From two-thirds to three-fourths of the persons on these boards in recent decades have been selected from this group.¹¹

These and other findings of previous studies are compared with present findings at appropriate points in later chapters.

In addition to these three studies published in full, certain other investigations of university board composition remain unpublished or have been published only in very abbreviated form. For example, Evans Clark, prior to 1923, undertook as a Ph.D. thesis project to investigate the occupations of governing board members of 7 privately controlled institutions and 22 state institutions. His results have been published only indirectly in the form of references to his findings by other authors.¹² He is reported to have found that bankers, financiers, manufacturers, merchants, public utility officers, publishers, and lawyers composed 56 percent of the members of privately controlled boards and 68 percent of publicly controlled boards, while farmers were represented only in very small percentages, and labor, not at all.¹³ His comments on board composition are quoted as follows:

We have allowed the education of our youth to fall into the absolute control of a group of men who represent not only a minority of the total population but have, at the same time, enormous economic and business stakes in what kind of an education it shall be.¹⁴

Another study published only in brief was that undertaken in 1932 by a student of Jerome Davis, W. Carl Calhoun. Rev. Calhoun studied the occupations and directorships of the trustees of 27 American colleges and universities having endowments of \$10,000,000 or more, 4 of which were state universities.¹⁵ Information was obtained for 630, or 96 percent of the 659 trustees of these institutions. Of these 630, 40 percent were found to have affiliations with banks, trust companies, insurance firms, or investment houses; 22 percent, with manufacturing or merchandising establishments; 18 percent, with public utilities; and 10 percent with railroads. Twenty-four percent were professional persons; 3 percent were judges; and one percent, editors or publishers.

Similarly, J. A. Leighton, at one time chairman of Committee T of the

American Association of University Professors, investigated the occupational composition of the governing boards of 25 universities. He published his findings as part of the report of his committee, but reduced them to a few generalized sentences, of which the following constitute the major part:

Boards of trustees are composed chiefly of members of the vested interests and the professions—bankers, manufacturers, commercial magnates, lawyers, physicians, and clergymen. It is a somewhat rare thing to find on a board a representative of either the teaching profession or scientific research. Still rarer to find a representative of the industrial workers! An investigation of the personnel of the boards of twenty-five universities bears out the above statement.¹⁶

To a small degree the unpublished Ph.D. thesis of Charles A. Baugher dealing with trends in church-related arts colleges since 1900 is also pertinent to board composition. In his study, Baugher examined trends in the proportion of clergymen on the governing boards of these colleges and found, as McGrath had previously, a decline in the representation of the clergy.¹⁷ Likewise a survey of colleges of Lutheran affiliation by R. J. Leonard, E. S. Evenden, and F. B. O'Rear published in 1929 included occupational data for 13 senior colleges and 3 junior colleges.¹⁸ Their findings indicated that clergymen constituted 42 percent of the 321 trustees of the senior colleges.

All these earlier studies, though seldom detailed and in most cases confined to occupational analyses, have served, nevertheless, to call attention to the remarkable unbalance in the vocational composition of university boards. In each the author has indicated concern over the control of higher education. That none took the next step and examined the actual workings of these boards is a significant indication of the difficulties of the direct approach, and especially so since at least one of these investigators tried this method and found his way blocked.

RELATED STUDIES OF BOARD COMPOSITION

These studies of the composition of university boards have been supplemented by studies following a similar method in closely related fields. Eduard C. Lindeman, for example, analyzed various biographical data respecting the board members of 70 representative foundations,¹⁹ and Harold Coe Coffman, similar data respecting trustees of 55 foundations actively participating in the child welfare movement.²⁰ Both were unable to find occupational information for substantial portions of the boards included. A number of similar studies also have been made of public school boards of education. At the time the data were collected for this study, at least 9 master's theses had been written on the social composition of boards of education of this or that county; at least 15, on boards within

given states;²¹ and several others, on boards of types less readily classified. Most of these reports were not published. The better known studies of national scope dealing with public school boards are those of Counts, Nearing, Struble, and Arnett.²² Although outside the immediate scope of this report, they provide perspective by indicating the existence of similar or related problems of board composition at other levels of education.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PRESENT AND PREVIOUS STUDIES

The present study attempts to go beyond these earlier studies in a number of important respects, of which the following are five:

1. It presents information of broader scope and in greater wealth of detail than did previous studies. Of former studies, that of broadest coverage analyzed data only on sex, age, occupation, education, and length of service, whereas the present study adds to this list net taxable income, salary, corporation and business connections, method of selection, and numerous miscellaneous types of information. Likewise, occupational and educational information was gathered in fuller detail for the present report than for previous ones.

2. Unlike most earlier analyses, this study is deliberately focused on the prominent universities. It neither lumps together small struggling unaccredited colleges in the hinterlands with the powerful endowed universities, nor groups ill-supported state institutions with the relatively more fortunate ones that rival the most distinguished nongovernmental universities.

3. It covers a group of universities selected solely by a criterion of eminence, and was not, as in certain previous studies, dependent on the decision of the universities involved to supply, or not to supply, the requested information. Since in the present study no institution was omitted because of difficulties in obtaining needed information, the nature of the institutions covered is more precisely defined than in earlier investigations.

4. It utilizes sources that are on the whole more reliable than those used in earlier studies. No previous inquiry encountered during this study purports to have been based on information gathered directly from board members, although presumably this source is the most accurate for personal information of the type collected. In the present report, much of the data analyzed were obtained by direct correspondence with board members, while the remaining sources were by their nature subject to little error.

5. In contrast to former studies of university boards, this study presents a more intensive analysis of the findings—one that includes numerous

cross tabulations, comparisons with previous studies, and considerable discussion of related materials, such as those on the function of university boards and the eminence of the institutions included.

These differences between the present and previous studies, together with the large areas of new material explored, appear more than sufficient to justify another study of the social and economic composition of the boards of America's leading universities. The plan and sources of the present study are described in more detail in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE PLAN AND PROCEDURES OF THE STUDY

Of course, one cannot think, understand and plan without a basis of fact, and since facts do not lie around in plain view, they have to be discovered—JOHN DEWEY.¹

UNIVERSITIES SELECTED

TO ASSURE MAXIMUM SIGNIFICANCE for the findings, it seemed advisable to select the universities to be studied by means of the strict application of an objective criterion of eminence. A random sampling of all types of universities and colleges would have given a confused and less significant picture by mixing the leading and highly influential universities with institutions of lesser importance, while a sampling determined by the relative availability of information as to trustees would have produced a group of miscellaneous institutions of unknown characteristics. The basic plan for the study provided, therefore, that only those 30 institutions of higher education in the United States that were members of the Association of American Universities during the year selected were to be included. The membership list of this association appeared admirably suited for the purpose, for it consists, so to speak, of the elite inner circle in higher education. Its membership is limited to invited institutions and invitations require a two-thirds vote of the members. A fuller picture of the eminence of the universities included in membership is given in Chapter IV.

The 30 universities actually covered are listed in Table 1 in the Appendix. The list includes the complete membership of the association with the exception of McGill University, Toronto University, and Duke University. The two Canadian institutions were omitted because they were not an integral part of higher education in the United States, and Duke University, because it was not admitted to membership until after the date chosen for this study. Massachusetts Institute of Technology and California Institute of Technology are regarded as universities for purposes of the Association of American Universities, and hence are so regarded in this study also. With the exceptions mentioned, the study covers

the governing boards of all members of this association, and thus is not technically a sample of a larger group. Fortunately, this membership list is admirably constituted for comparing board members of leading privately controlled universities (that is, universities not controlled by government at the federal, state, or local level) with those of leading state institutions, since 14 of the 30 are readily grouped as state universities and the other 16 are essentially nongovernmental in character.² This dichotomy provides a basis for many later comparisons.

TRUSTEES SELECTED

In decisions as to the trustees to be included, complete coverage rather than a sample was again the end sought. After a consideration of the availability of the desired materials for various years, the academic year 1934-35 was chosen as a suitable period for study. Trustees holding office during that year on the boards of the chosen universities were included with two major exceptions as follows: When a change in membership was known to have occurred during the year, the trustee who had served the greater part of the year was chosen. When the change had occurred exactly in the middle of the year, the person who had served during the first half was selected. To provide a normal picture for each board, the few members listed as recently deceased were included if their places had not yet been filled.³ Ex officio members were included except when it was learned that such members were without a vote. Honorary members, on the other hand, were excluded. Bicameral boards were regarded as single boards and members of both branches were included.⁴

The number of members on the various boards, as thus defined, is indicated in Table 1. Although a total of 734 memberships is reported, actually only 727 different persons were included since the following 7 persons were members of 2 of the boards studied:

Newton D. Baker
Harry Chandler
Walter S. Gifford
Arthur P. Rugg

Edward L. Ryerson, Jr.
Albert L. Scott
John Stuart

In the tabulations each of these 7 men was included once for each of the two board memberships held.⁵ If each had been included for but one institution, and excluded with respect to the other, even though serving both, proper comparisons between institutions would have been precluded. Moreover, the double memberships and votes of these persons and their resulting double influence would appear to warrant double counting. Possibly such persons are more than doubly influential by virtue of the prestige and additional experience resulting from multiple member-

ship. For convenience, the 734 board memberships are referred to as "members," in spite of this minor duplication.

Apparently interuniversity ties of this type are not uncommon. The interlocking memberships of these 7 trustees, which involve 11 of the 30 universities,⁶ would be considerably more numerous if instances of members serving on one board who had previously served on another of the 30 had also been counted. Moreover, a number of the trustees held memberships on governing boards of colleges and universities not included in the study. For example, one of the 7 trustees holding 2 trusteeships within the group of 30 universities also held memberships on 6 other governing boards of institutions of higher education, not members of the association, making a total of 8 such memberships for this trustee.⁷ The practice of multiple memberships seemed more characteristic of nongovernmental institutions than of state universities and colleges.

The lists of board members included many prominent citizens, of whom the following were among the better known:

Charles Francis Adams
John E. Aldred
Joseph S. Ames
Frank B. Anderson
James R. Angell
Sewell L. Avery
Newton D. Baker
Stephen Baker
George A. Ball
Clarence A. Barbour
Harry J. Bauer
William Adams Brown
Mortimer N. Buckner
W. Randolph Burgess
Nicholas Murray Butler
Pierce Butler
Godfrey Lowell Cabot
Hugh Cabot
Samuel Cabot
George O. Carpenter
Louis S. Cates
Harry Chandler
Morris L. Clothier
George I. Cochran
Henry Sloane Coffin
Lotus D. Coffman
Karl T. Compton
James B. Conant
Charles Allerton Coolidge
William H. Crocker

Wilbur L. Cross
Michael J. Curley
Charles P. Curtis, Jr.
Arthur W. Cutten
William H. Danforth
Josephus Daniels
Harold Willis Dodds
Franklin D'Olier
Thomas E. Donnelley
Denis J. Dougherty
Edward D. Duffield
A. Felix du Pont
Lammot du Pont
Pierre S. du Pont
Cyrus S. Eaton
Sidney M. Ehrman
Livingston Farrand
Mortimer Fleishhacker
W. Cameron Forbes
Raymond B. Fosdick
Glenn Frank
William Parmer Fuller, Jr.
Michael J. Gallagher
Frank E. Gannett
Robert Garrett
Thomas S. Gates
Bancroft Gherardi
Amadeo P. Giannini
Walter S. Gifford
John J. Glennon

Joseph P. Grace
Joseph D. Grant
Frank P. Graves
Edward B. Greene
Learned Hand
Edward J. Hanna
John R. Hardin
Francis R. Hart
Charles Hayden
Patrick Hayes
Nathan Hayward
August Heckscher
Robert C. Hill
Herbert Hoover
Timothy Hopkins
Edward Hopkinson, Jr.
Henry Horner
Samuel F. Houston
Charles Evans Hughes
Charles Evans Hughes, Jr.
Robert M. Hutchins
Henry James
Frank B. Jewett
Herbert H. Lehman
Ira S. Lillick
Walter Lippmann
A. Lawrence Lowell
John R. Macomber
Cyrus H. McCormick
Vance C. McCormick
John T. McNicholas
Edward Mallinckrodt, Jr.
William T. Manning
Theodore Marburg
Alfred Marling
Charles H. Mayo
William J. Mayo
Jesse H. Metcalf
Stephen O. Metcalf
Ben R. Meyer
Albert G. Milbank
A. Blanchard Miller
C. O. G. Miller
Thomas E. Molloy
Henry S. Morgan
George William Mundelein
Charles Nagel
John F. Neylan
William H. O'Connell
Henry O'Melveny

William C. Osborn
Francis Parsons
J. J. Pelley
Josiah H. Penniman
George Wharton Pepper
Thomas N. Perkins
Gifford Pinchot
Francis Price
Redfield Proctor
Percy R. Pyne, II
David A. Reed
Gordon S. Rentschler
Louis D. Ricketts
Edward B. Robinette
Henry M. Robinson
Elihu Root, Jr.
Chester H. Rowell
Arthur P. Rugg
Edward L. Ryerson, Jr.
Fred W. Sargent
Jacob F. Schoellkoepf, Jr.
Charles M. Schwab
Albert L. Scott
Frederic William Scott
Henry D. Sharpe
Henry Lee Shattuck
Paul Shoup
Alfred P. Sloan, Jr.
Alfred E. Smith
Payson Smith
Albert A. Sprague
Robert G. Sproul
Eugene M. Stevens
Charles A. Stone
E. T. Stotesbury
Silas H. Strawn
John Stuart
Harold H. Swift
Gerard Swope
Myron C. Taylor
Walter C. Teagle
Charles C. Teague
Elihu Thomson
Ernest F. Tittle
Clinton W. Toms, Sr.
Charles Warren
Thomas J. Watson
Edwin S. Webster
George Whitney
Joseph E. Widener

Albert H. Wiggin
Roy C. Wilcox
Daniel Willard

Robert G. Williams
John P. Wilson
Samuel Huntington Wolcott

Clarence M. Woolley

The names of the other trustees studied are listed in Exhibit A of the Appendix.

TYPES AND SOURCES OF BIOGRAPHICAL DATA UTILIZED

In addition to the names of governing board members, the following data were gathered: (1) occupation, (2) status as to whether occupationally active or retired, (3) date of first appointment to the university governing board, (4) type of governing board membership held, (5) date of birth, (6) place of birth, (7) residence address, (8) business address, (9) marital status, (10) number of children living, (11) education and degrees, (12) political preference, (13) religious affiliation, (14) membership in societies, fraternal organizations, and clubs, (15) civic activities, (16) whether listed in *Who's Who in America*, 1934-1935,⁸ (17) whether listed in *Poor's Register of Directors*, 1935,⁹ (18) directorships held in business corporations, (19) data on salary and income, where available, (20) miscellaneous information on special affiliations, contributions, etc., and (21) opinions on certain political and social issues.

The university catalogs issued for the academic year 1934-35 were obviously the initial source to be consulted. From these, lists of trustees for the academic year 1934-35 were compiled. Information as to addresses, date of first appointment, and type of board membership was often available in these catalogs also, and when not, university officials courteously supplied it. For other biographical information, it was necessary in most cases to turn to other sources, for universities, as a general practice, gather very little biographical information about their trustees. Such data were obtained chiefly from *Who's Who in America*, 1934-1935 edition. Fifty-eight percent of the 734 members were listed in that publication, mostly in the 1934-1935 edition. Biographical data for many of the remaining 42 percent, as well as additional facts for some of the 58 percent, were sought directly from board members themselves by means of a printed biographical blank mailed with an accompanying explanatory letter.¹⁰ This blank was patterned basically after the one used by *Who's Who in America* in order that the data from the two sources might be as comparable as possible. Before final adoption, it was tried experimentally with board members of certain universities not members of the Association of American Universities.¹¹ In all, blanks were mailed to 304 board members not listed in *Who's Who in America* and produced biographical statements from 245 additional trustees, or 33 percent of the entire group. Eighty-one per-

cent of the trustees to whom blanks were mailed eventually returned them.¹² Blanks were mailed also to a few persons whose sketches in *Who's Who in America* were incomplete. Of these returns, 7 added substantially to the published biographies. From these two chief biographical sources, sketches were obtained for 92 percent of the trustees studied. *Poor's Register of Directors*, 1935, was an additional important source for information on affiliations with business corporations. This directory listed 334 of the 734 board members studied, or 46 percent of the total, of whom 23 were not in *Who's Who in America* and did not return the biographical blank. The *Salary Directory*¹³ was one of the sources consulted for salaries of board members. Other sources utilized were chiefly public records, newspapers, and various other directories, including alumni, city, regional, religious, and social types. In certain cases information was also made available through persons close to several of the institutions studied. The opinion poll used for ascertaining board members' opinions on certain social and political issues is described in Chapter XII. Further details on other sources are given in the chapters dealing with specific findings.

COMPLETENESS AND ACCURACY OF BASIC DATA

As a result of these extended efforts and the multiplicity of sources consulted, a high degree of completeness was achieved for many types of biographical information. Some items, such as name, address, and type of board membership held, were secured for all the 734 trusteeships studied. For many other important types of information, the final data were nearly as complete. For example, the occupation of 721 members was found (98 percent), the age of 695 (95 percent), and the length of service of the governing board of 714 (97 percent). This degree of completeness was attained in spite of the handicap that 36 of the 734 members, or 5 percent, were deceased at the time the data were gathered, and that certain others were too ill to provide information. Among the least complete types of information were those on income or salary, data in this class being found for only 41 percent of the total, and those from the public opinion poll, on which usable returns were received from 43 percent of living board members. In view of the difficulties normally expected in the collection of such information even these returns were gratifyingly high.

Various checks were made on the accuracy of the data, particularly those obtained from *Who's Who in America* and from mail returns. Checks included comparison with alumni directories, and comparisons between *Who's Who in America* and biographical blanks returned directly by the persons concerned. Information from the *Salary Directory*

was also checked with public records. All materials agreed closely. The most probable bias is one of occasional egotistical overstatement, for which corrections were made in a few cases when the supporting evidence seemed adequate to establish exaggeration. Aside from this relatively minor bias, the materials used gave strong evidence of validity and accuracy. In cases where conflicting details in alternative sources made selection necessary, preference was given in the following order: (1) information received directly from board members, (2) *Who's Who in America*, (3) other biographical and alumni directories, (4) *Poor's Register of Directors*, and (5) other sources.

The data thus gathered were coded, punched on cards for semi-mechanical sorting,¹⁴ and tabulated in a variety of ways. The results of these analyses are set forth in Chapters VII to XIII, following a series of chapters dealing with background materials.

CHAPTER IV

SIZE AND EMINENCE OF THE UNIVERSITIES SELECTED

The Association of American Universities now includes twenty-seven of the best universities of the country, both public and private—ELLIOTT, CHAMBERS, AND ASHBROOK.¹

AS PREVIOUSLY INDICATED, the universities whose governing board members form the subject of this inquiry constituted in 1935 the United States membership of the Association of American Universities. The significance of the composition of these governing boards obviously hinges first on the powers and functions that they exercise and second on the influence of the universities that they govern. The question of powers and functions is dealt with in the following chapter, while this chapter is devoted to a consideration of the size and eminence of the institutions controlled by these boards. Available data pertinent to the following four factors that may be assumed to contribute toward influence are reviewed: (1) size of operations, (2) financial resources, (3) eminence in scholarship and facilities for graduate study, and (4) eminence in achievements of graduates.

SIZE OF OPERATIONS

Statistics on size, though in themselves an inadequate measure of greatness, do reveal in some degree the prominence of these 30 universities in American higher education. Table 2 presents percentages indicating the relative size of their faculties and student bodies and the proportion of total academic degrees granted. Since the 30 governing boards studied control 8 additional institutions, these have also been included as a separate subdivision of Table 2, making the total analyzed 38.²

In the academic year 1935-36 to which Table 2 applies, these 38 institutions comprised 2.2 percent of the total number of institutions of higher education in the United States,³ while the 30 governing boards studied probably constituted only about 2 percent of the governing boards of higher education. Nevertheless, they had under their jurisdiction 24 percent of the faculty members, 20 percent of the students in regular session,

50 percent of the graduate students in arts and sciences, and 47 percent of the graduate students in professional schools. They granted 50 percent of all the master's degrees awarded in this country, and 77 percent of the doctor's degrees. Among the 30 universities studied, the nongovernmental universities had a larger number of faculty members than the state universities, but fewer students. Among graduate students, the private institutions also had a larger share of those in the arts and sciences, and a much larger share of those in the professional schools. They also awarded a larger proportion of graduate degrees, especially on the doctoral level. From the totals for both groups, it is obvious that the scope and magnitude of the academic processes under the control of these boards is grossly disproportionate to the approximately 2 percent which they constitute of the boards of the 1,628 institutions of higher education. Their influence in the field of advanced study is particularly significant because of the large proportion of graduate students who become teachers in secondary schools or higher institutions of learning.

FINANCIAL RESOURCES

The explanation for the dominance of this small but eminent group of leading institutions of higher education evidently lies partly in their exceptional financial resources. Money can bring many advantages to a university in the way of specialists, laboratories, libraries, publication funds, scholarships, technical assistance, and publicity. In resources for this purpose, these universities have been exceptionally fortunate, as is clear from Table 3 which shows the percentage of receipts, expenditures, and property in higher education controlled by these 30 governing boards in the academic year 1935-36.

In terms of official statistics for the academic year 1935-36, these 30 institutions, together with 8 others controlled by the same governing boards, held property valued at 28.8 percent of the stated financial value of all property of reporting institutions of higher education in the United States. Although these 38 institutions comprised only one-fortieth of the total number of institutions of higher learning, they received 41.7 percent of the income from endowment, 29.8 percent of all private gifts and grants to higher education, 29.3 percent of federal, state, and local appropriations for higher education, 51.8 percent of receipts for the increase of permanent funds, 26.4 percent of receipts from student fees, and 29.7 percent of receipts for other purposes. On the expenditure side of the ledger, this same small proportion of institutions was responsible for more than one-third of total expenditures for resident instruction and nonbudgeted research, more than one-half the total for separately-budgeted, organized

research, almost two-fifths of the total for libraries, and more than one-fifth of the capital outlay. Gifts for additions to endowments went largely to the 16 nongovernmental institutions, as did also income from endowment. In fact, approximately one percent of institutions of higher education in this country received 36.2 percent of the total endowment income. The 16 nongovernmental institutions also excelled in expenditures for instruction, research, and libraries, while state institutions led in expenditures for capital outlay—a reflection, doubtless, of the rapidly expanding student bodies of state institutions, as well as the stimulus of federal public works programs.

The record of gifts to institutions of higher education, when examined in more detail, reveals an even greater concentration of financial resources than Table 3 would suggest. For the school year 1931-32, 26 of the 30 institutions whose boards are analyzed in this study were among the 105 institutions receiving total benefactions of \$100,000 or more, while the corresponding list for 1935-36 includes 27 of these same 30 institutions.⁴ Moreover, many of this group occupy prominent positions among the universities receiving exceptionally large total benefactions during these years. In 1931-32, for example, Yale received close to 13 million dollars in gifts; Harvard, approximately 9 millions; Columbia and Chicago, between 4 and 5 millions each; and Johns Hopkins, close to 3 millions. In 1935-36, Chicago received 8 millions; Michigan and Yale, between 4 and 5 millions each; and California and Columbia, between 2 and 3 millions each. In these same years only one institution not among these 30 received over 2 millions in gifts. Of the total of 77 millions received in 1931-32 by the 105 institutions receiving benefactions of \$100,000 or more, 64 percent went to 26 of the 30 institutions whose boards are analyzed in this study.⁵ Clearly the boards that control these 30 universities control in many respects a decisive share of the financial resources of American higher education.

EMINENCE IN SCHOLARSHIP AND FACILITIES FOR GRADUATE STUDY

These universities are likewise preeminent in the less tangible achievements more directly related to scholarship. Their leadership in this basic aspect of higher education is attested by the remarkable agreement of juries of scholars as to the eminence of these 30 universities in scholarship and facilities for graduate study. In the ranking of 16 leading graduate schools, published by Eells in 1926, and based on jury ratings collected and published by R. M. Hughes, all the 16 judged to be the leading graduate schools were among the 30 institutions selected for the present study.⁶ Eight years later Dr. Hughes, as Chairman of the Committee on

Graduate Instruction of the American Council on Education, presented a new and more elaborate report on schools offering adequate facilities for graduate work in one or more of 35 separate fields.⁷ Of a total of 233 departments adjudged distinguished by prominent scholars in those fields, 226 were in the 30 institutions covered by the present study, and 3 of the remaining 7, in institutions controlled by these same boards.⁸ Thus 229, or over 98 percent of these distinguished graduate departments, were in institutions governed by these 30 boards—a sharp contrast to the 2 percent that these boards constituted of the total number of boards controlling American institutions of higher education. Hughes' committee also presented a longer list of 660 departments judged to have adequate staff and equipment to prepare candidates for the doctorate. Of the 660 so listed, 534 were in the 30 universities studied and 14 others, in institutions governed by the same boards, making a total under the control of these boards of 548 departments, or 83 percent of the total of 660 departments judged suitable for doctoral study.⁹ In 1935 Embree reclassified the 1934 report of the Committee of the American Council on Education, added to it data on the basic medical sciences, studied the distribution of starred persons in *American Men of Science*, consulted scholars and appropriate national committees, and then published a ranking of the 11 leading universities based on these combined methods.¹⁰ All these 11 eminent universities were among the 30 chosen for the present study. The rankings of specific universities as reported by both Eells and Embree are given in Table 4.

The number of prominent scientists on the staffs of these universities constitutes further evidence of their scholarly eminence. In his analysis in 1906 of the university positions of the thousand leading men of science, Cattell found 35 colleges and universities to have 5 or more of these leading scientists on the staffs at that time.¹¹ Of these 35 institutions, all but 7 were among those selected for the present study. Moreover, the 30 universities included on their staffs 91 percent of the 541 distinguished men of science at the 35 institutions. In 1939 Visser published a repetition of this type of study giving in his tabulations data for American universities with a total of 6 or more men starred in the four editions of *American Men of Science* that appeared between the years 1921-38, inclusive.¹² These later figures showed that the clustering of notable scientists was still characteristic of these 30 universities in the late thirties. Another study covering this and related matters, prepared by Hughes for the National Resources Committee, showed similar results.¹³

The findings of Cattell and of Visser for each university included in the present study are given in Table 4. These authors report a further marked tendency toward concentration of scientific talent even within

this circle of the elite. In 1906, for example, with part-time professors and professors emeritus being counted as .5, Harvard had on its staff 66.5 notable scientists; Columbia, 60.0; University of Chicago, 39.0; and Cornell, 33.5. No other institution could then claim over 31 such scientists, and the majority, many fewer. Visser's report in 1939 noted a similar concentration of notable scientists. His highest ranking universities were: Harvard, 69.0 scientists; Columbia, 39.5; University of Chicago, 45.5; and University of California, 35.0. In contrast, other universities even among the select 30 fell below the minimum of 6 covered by Visser's tables. With such a near monopoly of top-rank scientists by a few institutions, the influence of these fortunate few on scientific developments and technological change must be greatly out of proportion to their numbers.

EMINENCE IN THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF GRADUATES

The achievements of graduates illustrate still another aspect of the influence of these 30 universities on the life of the nation. In several instances notable scientists, as distinguished by starring in *American Men of Science*, have been classified according to the universities where they received their undergraduate or graduate education. Further calculations based on Cattell's study in 1906 of the thousand men of science reveal that 40 percent of such scientists received their bachelor's degree from one of the 30 institutions studied and 58 percent carried on graduate study there.¹⁴ Harvard, Yale, and the University of Michigan ranked at the top of Cattell's list of universities that had granted the highest number of bachelor's degrees to distinguished scientists, while Johns Hopkins, Harvard, and Columbia topped the corresponding list for graduate instruction. Visser later repeated this type of analysis using the 750 men newly starred in the 1927, 1933, and 1938 editions of *American Men of Science*.¹⁵ His findings confirmed the dominance in the training of leading scientists of the 30 universities whose boards form the subject of this study. Visser's tables for the earned doctorate list only the top 16 institutions in this respect, and all 16 were among the 30 included in the present study. Moreover, 69 percent of all those starred in these volumes were found to have received the earned doctoral degree from one or another of these 16 institutions.¹⁶ Harvard alone granted 96 Ph.D. degrees to scientists attaining this academic level; the University of Chicago, 85; and Columbia, 65. Corresponding figures for other universities included in the present study, as well as figures from a later tabulation by Visser of scientists newly starred in 1943, are given in Table 4.

The prominence of these 30 institutions is similar with regard to the education of persons of outstanding achievement in other areas of life.

Prentice and Kunkel have listed the institutions having more than 20 holders of their bachelor's degree cited in the 1928-1929 edition of *Who's Who in America*;¹⁷ of the 33 colleges and universities having 100 or more alumni so listed, 23 were among the 30 institutions chosen for the present study. Forty-five percent of all holders of bachelor's degrees listed in that edition of *Who's Who in America* received this degree from institutions governed by 27 of the boards studied, while 40 percent of those receiving this degree after 1900 received it from 17 universities from among these same 30.¹⁸ Harvard was again at the top of the list for the total period, having granted the bachelor's degree to 1,374 notable persons so listed, while Yale was second with 937, and Princeton, third with 480.

The preeminence of this small group of universities in the education of notable Americans has its counterpart among eminent Americans who have passed away. A study of the twenty-volume *Dictionary of American Biography*, which lists persons having made "original contributions to American civilization," discloses that 55 institutions of higher education had 20 or more alumni listed, totalling 4,988 persons.¹⁹ Of this number, 56 percent were graduates of 14 of the 30 institutions included in this study,²⁰ these institutions being in general the older ones since this dictionary includes persons who lived in the colonial period. In this list Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, having been founded early, naturally were in the lead.

Similarly, college presidents, a key group in American higher education, have been educated to an important degree by these same leading 30 universities. Warren's study of the presidents of four-year colleges²¹ indicates that of the 628 presidents for whom he found data on earned degrees, 310, or almost half, had received their highest earned degree from some one of 17 institutions included among the 30 in the present study.²² This figure would be even higher if data were available for institutions from which less than 5 of the presidents had received their highest earned degree. In this analysis, Columbia tops the list, having furnished 97 college presidents; Harvard ranks second, with credit for 40; and the University of Chicago, third, with 35. Corresponding figures for other universities appear in Table 4.

A special study in 1936 of Yale graduates serves to illustrate further the educational outreach of a leading university. In that year 50 of Yale's graduates were presidents of American colleges or universities and more than 2,600 were engaged in educational work. Moreover, Yale graduates had contributed in major fashion, as founders or first presidents, to the development of colleges and universities which in 1936 enrolled 125,000 students.²³

The total picture is thus one of great concentration of power within

the field of higher education, the 30 universities selected for study occupying in most respects a highly central position. It would indeed have been difficult to have selected a group of governing board members in a better strategic position to influence American higher education, and consequently American life, than those whose record is examined in the following chapters.

CHAPTER V

POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF UNIVERSITY GOVERNING BOARDS

By whatever name the governing body is known, trustees, regents, or other, it is primarily a body legislative and executive. In it is vested final power—CHARLES F. THWING.¹

POWERS AND FUNCTIONS LEGALLY GRANTED TO GOVERNING BOARDS

THE IMPORTANCE to the public welfare of the composition of governing boards hinges not only on the eminence of the universities these boards control, but also on the powers and functions they exercise. No special intensive study of the legal provisions for these 30 governing boards was undertaken, but the findings reported by other writers in this area provide a general picture of the powers and functions of governing boards, which is in all probability characteristic of these boards also. As other students have indicated, the term "Board of Trustees" belies their real powers and functions. The term, "Board of Regents," commonly used by state universities, is more truly descriptive.² In some states, of which Iowa is one, the State Board of Education is in charge of all tax-supported higher education, as well as of the public school system.

Despite the usual designation of board members as "trustees" and conformance with that tradition in this study, university board members do far more than hold in trust the institution's endowment and property. In the opinion of one board member, the term trustee "is an erroneous designation. The Board itself and its members are *Managers* or *Directors* of the college."³ The terms of the charters and legislative acts, under the provisions of which these boards were established or now operate, as well as many court decisions, support in large measure this conception of board functions. For example, six years after the founding of Harvard, the General Court (i.e. the legislature) of the Massachusetts Colony created a board to govern this young institution. At its formation in 1642, this board, called "The Board of Overseers," was given "full power and authority to make and establish all such orders, statutes, and constitutions

as they shall see necessary for the instituting, guiding, and furthering of the said College and the several members thereof, from time to time, in piety, morality, and learning."⁴ More than three hundred years have passed since that quaint phraseology was used to express the authority and obligation of the governing board of the first institution of higher learning in what is now the United States. Today the direction of institutions of higher learning encompasses wider responsibilities, powers for the execution of which are often explicitly granted to the governing boards. In general, these boards now possess all legal powers necessary for, and incidental to, the operation of institutions of higher learning.⁵ The charter of Columbia University serves to illustrate the powers typically granted by law to such boards. It provides:

That the said trustees, and their successors, shall forever hereafter have full power and authority to direct and prescribe the course of study, and the discipline to be observed in the said college, and also to select and appoint by ballot or otherwise, a president of the said college, who shall hold his office during good behaviour; and such professor or professors, tutor or tutors, to assist the president in the government and education of the students belonging to the said college, and such other officer or officers, as to the said trustees shall seem meet, all of whom shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the trustees; *Provided always*, That no such professor, tutor, or other assistant officer shall be trustee.⁶

This charter provides further:

That the said trustees, and their successors, shall have full power and authority to make all ordinances and by-laws which to them shall seem expedient for carrying into effect the designs of their institution; *Provided always*, That such ordinances or by-laws shall not make the religious tenets of any person a condition of admission to any privilege or office in the said college, nor be inconsistent with the constitution and laws of this state, nor with the constitution and laws of the United States.⁷

To an important extent the powers of nongovernmental universities are independent of legislative action. The historic decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Dartmouth College case (1819) held that a charter is a contract which the state cannot modify without consent from the other party to the contract. As a result, the law that the New Hampshire legislature had enacted revising the method of appointment of Dartmouth trustees and establishing Dartmouth as a state university was declared unconstitutional.⁸ It follows, therefore, that when powers have been granted to nongovernmental universities by charter, they cannot be modified or rescinded by the state without the consent of the university governing board.

The powers of state universities, in general, are comparable in scope

with those of nongovernmental universities. The Office of Education *Survey of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities* states:

Statutes of all the States have vested general authority over the land-grant colleges [and universities] in the governing boards. The authority thus given includes the performance of all acts necessary to keep the institutions in operation, the care and preservation of their properties, and the government of their financial and educational affairs. Whether specifically stated or implied in the laws, the governing boards have jurisdiction over the administrative and business procedure; the election of a president; the employment and discharge of teachers, officers, and employees; the prescribing of courses of instruction; the fixing of entrance requirements of students; the determining and conferring of appropriate degrees; and the making of rules for the conduct of the students.⁹

Almost without exception in this country, governing boards exercise these powers and functions without the consent of the governed. Neither faculty nor students have power to review or veto board decisions. Moreover faculty and students practically never participate in the selection of trustees, have no power to recall them, and seldom share in their deliberations. According to Kirkpatrick, a close student of the history of university government, this practice of governing a university by means of a board in which the faculty have "no voting voice" is "without parallel outside the North American Continent." In addition to the United States, this practice "has been followed in good part in British America, but in no other portion of the civilized world."¹⁰ Moreover it has not at times been characteristic even of certain major American universities. During Harvard's first 60 years, for example, all teachers were at the same time "fellows" and thus members of the governing board.¹¹ For eighty years the administration of the University of Virginia was in charge of the faculty and a chairman which the faculty elected in accordance with a plan of self-government instituted by Thomas Jefferson. Among the universities in the United States, the democratic form evidently was retained longest there, but in 1903 the governing board revised the plan of government and in the following year itself elected a president.¹² A few smaller, more experimental colleges still retain an important share of the control in the hands of faculty and students.¹³ Nevertheless, the share of the faculty in university government has been waning and ultimate control in the hands of governing boards not elected by students or faculty is now unquestionably the typical form of government of the leading universities covered by this study,¹⁴ as well as of most similar American institutions of lesser eminence.

LIMITATIONS ON THE POWERS OF GOVERNING BOARDS

Although legally the power of the governing board is immense both in legislative and executive matters, in actual practice important limitations

exist. For state institutions, one such limitation results from their dependence on the state legislature for financial support. Some state universities, according to their fundamental law, are completely subject to the state legislature, as are also other administrative branches of the state government. Other state universities were created by the state constitution, and consequently are less directly subject to the legislature. In some states, certain officials, such as the state auditor, can operate as a check upon the university governing board. Although all such legal, financial, and administrative limitations are very real, ordinarily they still leave the governing boards with very great power.

Other types of limitations affect the boards of both state and nongovernmental universities. Among these are judicial decisions, the standards of accrediting agencies, and the opinions of alumni, staff, students, pressure groups, and the general public. Often such groups achieve greater influence in university affairs by organizing into alumni associations, student organizations, and faculty groups, such as the American Association of University Professors and the College Section of the American Federation of Teachers. Decisions of boards must also be governed to some extent by considerations of supply and demand similar to those that affect all enterprises, a process well illustrated by the usual rivalry between universities for football players, students, faculty, and other staff. Additional and more subtle limitations are placed on governing boards by interest groups that influence or determine the choice of members, as for example, political groups in the case of state universities, and donors or prospective donors in the case of nongovernmental universities.

Further important limitations on the powers of boards arise in actual practice from the need to delegate powers to the president and to a lesser extent to the faculty. Since members of university governing boards are usually laymen and ordinarily devote only a small portion of their time to university matters, some delegation of powers is inevitable. As one distinguished university board president has explained, the average trustee

does not know much about educational policy, but he knows that he knows not, and in his ignorance, and because he believes it fitting and proper, he largely delegates responsibility for educational policies to the faculty people. They are specialists, and ought to be wiser in education. I hope in doing so he is not too optimistic; sometimes I wonder.¹⁵

This delegation of powers creates the hierarchical pattern of organization that is practically universal among American institutions of higher education. The usual plan provides for a faculty responsible to a president, who, in turn, is responsible to a governing board. Typically, a governing board is in charge of a single institution, and ordinarily deals with

only one chief executive officer.¹⁶ The general dictum of the delegation of powers, as set forth in a handbook written expressly for board members, is: "Boards should legislate and presidents should execute."¹⁷ In accordance with this concept, the burden of university administration is cared for by the president, the deans, and various other members of the university staff.

The need of the board to delegate authority and the related hierarchical pattern of university government together give rise to the influential office of the presidency, which in itself operates as a further important limitation on the board's power. The university president is, indeed, in a unique position. The board, in order to perform its work wisely, frequently needs appropriate information and expert advice, for which it turns to him, with the result that he typically has considerable influence with the board. With respect to most budget items and the appointment and dismissal of faculty members, his recommendation is commonly equivalent to final action. Thus the functions of the board of trustees commonly consist in the main of legislative decisions on larger issues of policy on which its members are expected to act in the light of data furnished by the president and specialists in the fields concerned.

While the board's need to delegate power and its dependence on the president for information and counsel thus confer a significant measure of power on various university officials, this power is typically exercised at the specific authorization of the board, at times stated in writing, and is subject to revocation. In some respects the delegation of powers extends to the faculty, and at time also to the students.¹⁸ However, the faculty members usually have little or no opportunity to participate in the selection of the president and are commonly omitted, likewise, from participation in the final steps of budget-making and other basic decisions. In consequence, their power to influence fundamental policies is limited and a noticeable literature of protest has accumulated.¹⁹ From this literature and other evidence, it would appear that governing boards are not limited to any important degree by the delegation of powers to faculty below the administrative level and retain final control even of the actions of the president.

MAJOR CHANNELS OF BOARD INFLUENCE

In spite of these various practical limitations within which boards must function, board members still hold the powers necessary for the effective control of the major aspects of university organization and policy. Chief among these are their direct responsibilities both for selecting the university president and for continuing him in office. Through the type and quality of president chosen, they are in a position to influence funda-

mentally the entire outlook, trend, and tenor of the university. The power to select the president is, moreover, a power frequently exercised, for the turnover rate in college presidencies is high²⁰—in fact much higher than professional opinion would recommend.²¹ The reasons for these frequent changes are not fully known. Obviously the demands upon a person in that office are difficult to meet. With due allowance for the inherent difficulties in selection and in meeting expectations, the lack of permanence in these positions suggests, nevertheless, two basic questions: Do the boards exercise their power to select the president with sufficient wisdom? Do basic differences between presidents, chosen to function as educators, and their boards, composed predominantly of business men, create at times irresolvable conflicts? This study cannot answer these questions, but it is perhaps significant that Palmer has reported that "conflicts between the president and his board of trustees over fundamental educational policies and practices are not infrequently found to be factors contributing to changes in presidencies."²² In addition to the power to select the president and to dismiss him or retire him, boards usually hold also the power of veto over his proposals for university policies, for staff appointments, for use of university funds or property, and for special projects.

The second major key to the effective control of the university by the board is the board's power to approve or veto the president's recommendations as to the appointment, promotion, transfer, demotion, or dismissal of members of the staff.²³ Since the exercise of this power usually appears perfunctory and independent board action or vetoes are infrequent, the true strength arising from this power is easily overlooked. The original process of selection of candidates ordinarily rules out types of persons who, in the opinion of the president and deans, are, or show likelihood of becoming, unsatisfactory to the board. After appointment, staff members usually conduct themselves continually in a manner known to be acceptable to their superior officers, and in turn, to the governing board. Without conscious reflection, evaluation, or challenge, many faculty members easily achieve conformity to the desired pattern, as well as agreement with the basic assumptions of superior officers, and an acceptable approach to social issues. So unaware are they often of the process that they remind one of certain school superintendents who reported that they had no material pressures exerted upon them—not even moderate ones.²⁴ In this manner great and complex universities operate with relatively few ukases, but one should not, therefore, be deceived as to the source of the directing power. In Flexner's view:

For the most part the immediate and direct influence of the trustees, after they have chosen the president is . . . rare and slight; their indirect and, I believe,

largely unconscious influence may be and often is, however, considerable. . . . In the social and economic realms they create an atmosphere of timidity which is not without effect in initial appointments and in promotions.²⁵

The reliance on board members for the solicitation of funds from state legislatures or private donors and their control of decisions as to the distribution of university funds constitute other important sources of their power. While in these fields their dependence on the recommendations of the executive again is often great, they nevertheless hold final power to encourage various departments or divisions of the university with liberal funds, or to reduce their effectiveness with inadequate funds, or to kill them entirely by the complete withdrawal or denial of funds. Their role in relation to special projects, research, and university property is similarly decisive even though inconspicuous.²⁶

The ultimate consequences of the manner in which board members exercise their combined powers and functions, both actual and legal, are difficult to overestimate. Raymond M. Hughes, President Emeritus of Iowa State College, has expressed his judgment of trustee influence as follows:

The ideals and character of the faculties of these institutions, the quality and inspiration of the teaching, their adaptation to the current needs of society, their general efficiency, and their adequate support depend very largely on the trustees. . . . No public trust today is more important than the trusteeship of American colleges and universities.²⁷

The qualifications recommended for those who are to exercise these responsibilities of fundamental importance to higher education are reviewed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VI

QUALIFICATIONS RECOMMENDED FOR UNIVERSITY GOVERNING BOARD MEMBERS

Only forceful and forward-looking persons, representative of the best of the dynamic citizenship of their generation, should be eligible for membership,—men and women who are recognized successes in their own fields of activity, who comprehend the meaning of other kinds of success than their own, who are not mastered by any narrow partisan group or by any political party, who are capable of regarding their trusteeship as the highest order of civic service, and, above all, who are able and willing to give freely an amount of time sufficient to enable them to know and to understand the immediate activities and the ultimate aspirations of the institutions of which they are a part—EDWARD C. ELLIOTT.¹

IF TRUSTEES WIELD such decisive powers in the affairs of these eminent universities, what then should be their qualifications for these critical responsibilities? To provide a basis for a later appraisal of the findings on actual board composition, this chapter is devoted to a review of the qualifications suggested by students of higher education or prescribed in basic university laws and charters. Those that relate to personality and ideals, occupation, wealth and income, age, sex, religion, politics, education, residence, and family connections are considered in this order.

PERSONALITY AND IDEALS

In the literature on higher education, discussions of qualifications for membership on university governing boards have been neither intensive nor definitive. Many of the recommendations that have appeared have emphasized mainly personality and related intellectual and emotional attributes of a type that lend themselves very poorly to statistical comparisons with actual board composition. On the other hand, pertinent sections of basic charters and legislation have been confined mainly to more tangible specifications. Ashbrook's tabulation of the chief qualifications for university board members recommended in higher education surveys and writings of university trustees provides a useful introduction to thought on personality qualifications. Heading his list is "absence of political or other extraneous influence," indicated as a chief qualification

in 4 of the 12 sources analyzed.² "Understanding of history and ideals of the institution" and "ability to maintain public confidence" tied for second place, each having been indicated as a chief qualification in 3 of the 12 sources. Two writers listed "sound judgment." Only one writer is reported by Ashbrook to have mentioned "a prophetic view"; one, "breadth of outlook"; and one, "vision."³ Ashbrook also interviewed a number of trustees and found that when questioned, they emphasized the importance to good trusteeship of "interest in the institution; interest in the particular things the institution stands for; and interest in education, or in higher education." "Good judgment" and "good business sense" were also commonly mentioned.⁴ More recently, another writer on the subject, Charles F. Thwing, has included such attributes as "intellectual comprehensiveness," "interpretive mindedness," "conciliatoriness," "emotional steadiness," and "progressiveness."⁵ Still other traits have been emphasized by Hughes, who wrote:

Real devotion to the cause of education, profound concern for the public good, sterling integrity, courage to face pressure, political and otherwise, fearlessly—these qualities combined with high intelligence and some knowledge of higher education should be prerequisites to the consideration of a man or woman for appointment.⁶

In a critical evaluation of the comments of others, Ashbrook stated:

Two qualities which seem most essential have not been sufficiently stressed by the writers whose works are quoted. One such quality is the ability and intention to further the integration of the factors inside and outside the institution. Another quality is the possession of the viewpoint that the social order and its institutions must constantly change. No amount of professional leadership on the part of the line officers will avail to keep the institution serving the social order if the board members possess a static viewpoint.⁷

Perhaps Chambers also had that latter point in mind when he later wrote:

Let it be remembered, however, that a governing board properly includes representatives of different temperaments. Often the presence of one restless firebrand among a group of more complacent spirits may be salutary. Higher education would not suffer if a few more Tom Paines and Patrick Henrys were judiciously distributed among boards of trustees.⁸

Certainly the point of view which a person takes with regard to the social order is basic to his functioning as a university governing board member. To the attributes already mentioned the present author would add three of fundamental importance, viz.: (1) adherence to the ideas, beliefs, and practices of democracy, (2) competence in cultivating a democratic social orientation for higher education, and (3) a strong motivation to promote science and scholarship. If American universities are to fulfill adequately their great responsibility and opportunity in a society devel-

oped increasingly in a framework of democracy, science, and scholarship, a high order of statesmanship in these respects should become a *sine qua non* for university trustees.

OCCUPATION

In contrast to the legal silence on character and personality qualifications, the basic laws and charters of universities do in some cases prescribe occupational requirements for trustees.⁹ For example, a legal provision designating the holder of a specified office as a university trustee *ex officio* constitutes, in reality, an occupational requirement. Most frequently, college presidents and state governors are placed on boards in an *ex officio* capacity,¹⁰ while occasionally the list of such members is considerably more elaborate. In the case of the Cornell board, the president of the university, the governor, the lieutenant governor, the speaker of the assembly, the commissioner of education, the commissioner of agriculture, and the president of the state agricultural society—all are legally designated *ex officio* members.¹¹ Formal occupational requirements of other types are less frequent and less specific. The Wisconsin statutes have required that two members of the board must be farmers and two must be engaged in manual trades, while the Cornell board must include a representative of the State Grange.¹² A number of land-grant colleges make similar provision for the inclusion of farm representatives on their college boards, and very occasionally, other occupations are mentioned. One land-grant college requires the selection of a trustee from among its foremost mechanics graduates, while another requires that two trustees be from a manufacturing industry.¹³ The obvious intent of such legal specifications is to assure representation for certain groups whose interests are presumed to be vitally affected. Still another type of occupational requirement is that for Catholic University which specifies that its board shall consist of the Cardinals and Archbishops of the United States, and 10 bishops, 10 priests, and 10 laymen.¹⁴ Other occupational specifications take a negative form, as for example the charter for Columbia University, which requires that no "professor, tutor, or other assistant officer shall be a trustee."¹⁵ Similarly, Massachusetts Institute of Technology excludes professors, teachers, and lecturers from board membership.¹⁶ The question might be raised whether such restrictions originate in a wish to exclude faculty from participation in policy decisions. In spite of these various specific legal provisions, however, wide latitude is usually permitted in the occupational affiliations of university board members.

Opinion of those who are not lawmakers is sharply divided as to the values of various types of occupational experience as background for board functions. Orthodox students of the subject have stressed the im-

portance of securing trustees with a record of outstanding success and achievement, men with wide public contacts and influence, who are able to win and maintain public confidence in the university. The value of persons accustomed to large business problems and budgets has also been stressed, such men being thought less prone to insist on unreasonable, petty economies to the detriment of the institution governed. The need for sufficient time for necessary university duties has also been emphasized.¹⁷ Often a materialistic desire for free access to special professional skills among board members is also evident. On the basis of his interviews, Ashbrook concluded:

In addition to the mental attitudes and mental acumen desired of prospective trustees, certain material abilities are often wanted. They are: Ability to give money to the institution; to get money for the institution, or to save money for the institution through the donation of special skills or professional abilities. Financial ability and expertness at handling securities and caring for the fiscal interests of the institution is much prized. It is often thought desirable to have a lawyer on the board to handle legal cases without cost to the institution, or to have a real estate broker who can assist in getting proper value in land transactions. Apparently, insurance agents, furniture salesmen, building material dealers, and any other persons who can assist in getting the utmost out of limited funds are esteemed as trustees by the more impecunious institutions.¹⁸

Burton's findings suggest the presence of a similar motivation for selections for boards below the college level. Of 100 replies he received from boards of control of independent schools, 24 boards replied that they always sought to have lawyers represented; 20 similarly sought to include doctors; 18, educators; 8, bankers; 7, businessmen; 5, ministers; one, civil officials; and one, engineers.¹⁹ Certain authorities, again referring to boards of education below the university level, have been similarly specific as to the occupations believed to furnish good or poor board members. Chancellor, for example, recommended in 1904 that the following types of persons make good board members:

1. Manufacturers accustomed to dealing with bodies of men and with important business interests. . . .
2. Merchants, contractors, bankers, and other men of large affairs. . . .
3. Physicians, if in successful practice. . . .
4. College graduates in any walk in life who are successful in their own affairs.
 ²⁰

Among those not recommended by Chancellor were the following:

1. Inexperienced young men, whatever be their calling.
2. Unsuccessful men.
3. Old men retired from business.
4. Politicians.
5. Newspaper men.

6. Uneducated and unlearned men.
7. Men in subordinate business positions."

In 1916, 1922, and 1929, in three editions of a widely read book on public school administration, Cubberley made an almost identical separation of occupations favored or disapproved as sources of prospective board members, the basis of selection by both writers being the probable relative efficiency of persons from various occupations in handling an institution's business affairs.²² Somewhat more recently, McConn has added qualified support to this school of thought. In *College or Kindergarten?* he said, "if we are to have any kind of lay board, I think we cannot do better than go ahead with our well-to-do business men."²³

Emphasis in the literature on the less tangible values that can be contributed by scientists and creative artists on governing boards is much more unusual. Hibbard's recommendation that the board of a mythical Utopia College consist of "three educators (not pedagogues) of National reputation, three creative workers in the field of fine arts, three men of recognized business capacity, and five leading scientists"²⁴ is most exceptional.

In similar contrast with traditional views of the high worth of business men for this function, a small but notable literature has appeared protesting the dominance of business men on educational boards. Prominent among these critics was the economic theorist, Thorstein Veblen, renowned for his keen analysis of the effects of a changing technology on the modes of thought and action of the workers involved. With masterful irony, Veblen expounded his theory that the workaday habits of mind, interests, training, experience, spirit, and methods of successful business men are inevitably incompatible with the objectives and processes of higher learning and that as a result the ends of higher education are defeated when such men are placed in control. Chambers has summarized this point in the following words:

The type of educational policy-making which is properly entrusted to lay boards is by no means a responsibility identical with that of the management of private commercial or financial corporations operated for profit. Often successful business men either fail to understand or wilfully ignore the distinctions.²⁵

Veblen recommended that both governing boards and college presidencies as now known be abolished and that in their place be substituted a university administration originating from, and standing in a service relation to, the university faculty and research staff.²⁶

More bitter and extreme is the interpretation presented by Upton Sinclair, author of that famous diatribe on American higher education, *The Goose-Step*. In this volume, Sinclair has illustrated at length his the-

sis that our present educational system operates not as a "public service" furthering "the welfare of mankind," but rather as "an instrument of special privilege" designed "to keep America capitalist."²⁷ In his judgment, interlocking directorates have been purposely devised to place university control in the hands of executives of big industry and finance, who in turn represent "class greed and selfishness" based on economic privilege.²⁸ Likewise, Ferdinand Lundberg, in his controversial book, *America's 60 Families*, contends that the identities of the trustees of the leading privately endowed universities—"most of whom are men engaged in pecuniary pursuits as deputies of great fortunes or are in person the ruling heads of the great fortunes"—support the thesis that "these schools are adjuncts, or departments, of the big corporations and banks, and are more or less openly operated as such."²⁹

In less accusatory words, each of the authors of the several research monographs on the composition of university governing boards also has expressed concern over the preponderance of business men on these boards.³⁰ Of these, George S. Counts has stated his position most fully with regard to both university boards and public school boards. Basic to Counts' position are two tenets: (1) that "no one can transcend the limits set by his own experience," and (2) that "the basic service which the board renders society is the formulation of general educational policy."³¹ His conclusions and proposed remedy were phrased, in part, as follows:

The criterion of personal competence is not enough. To permit one class or element to legislate for another would seem to be dangerous. Such a practice would open the way to exploitation of the most grievous type. . . .

A dominant class is a privileged class, a class that is favored by the existing social arrangement. It therefore tends to be conservative, to exaggerate the merits of the prevailing order, and to fear any agitation favoring fundamental changes in the social structure. It represents the past rather than the future. . . . To the degree, therefore, that the school is under the control of these forces, however benevolent they may appear, the chances are that its face will be turned toward the past. Its function will be defensive and conservative rather than creative and progressive. . . .³²

Why, therefore, should not the more important interests be recognized frankly and be given membership on the board of education? This would relieve the board from any flagrant class or sectarian bias.³³

McGrath, another investigator of board composition, believed that academic freedom was the basic issue involved in the dominance of leaders of big business on university boards. After a review of the arguments on both sides of the question, he concluded:

If the present control in the main permits and encourages the unrestrained pursuit of the truth then it should be continued. If, on the other hand, trustees permit their personal interests and social philosophy to pervert the proper purposes of

American colleges and universities, then the character of such boards must be altered.³⁴

Many other writers also have discussed the dangers or disadvantages of a preponderance of business men on university governing boards, although often in a more limited and circumscribed fashion. Among these are Stephen P. Duggan, Harold J. Laski, James McKeen Cattell, J. E. Kirkpatrick, Jesse H. Newlon, Jerome Davis, Ernest H. Lindley, William A. Ashbrook, Charles F. Thwing, Charles W. Eliot, and a number of labor spokesmen.³⁵ Still others have made statements in general opposition to extraneous influences and pressures that could be construed to have occupational implications, but a political interpretation is the more usual.

WEALTH AND INCOME

In contrast to occupational requirements, wealth and income qualifications for board membership are seemingly never embodied in laws or charters and are not often directly referred to in the literature. Nevertheless, their existence in practice may be inferred from frequent references to the importance of choosing "successful" men, occupational achievement and distinction presumably being measured largely in pecuniary terms. Commonly, it is alleged that trustees are selected from among persons of wealth or their representatives with a view to encouraging bequests to the university, and that such men are sometimes retained long after their period of useful activity has passed in order that hoped-for bequests may be realized.³⁶ In response to a questionnaire on qualifications sought in trustees, one college replied frankly that they sought "men of means who can supply help and who know where funds may reasonably be found."³⁷ Probably this motivation is more general than is admitted. Hughes states without qualification that "in private institutions, members are often appointed because of their wealth, their prominence, or their supposed influence in securing money for the institution."³⁸ Several writers have indicated that such hopes are often not realized.³⁹ Certain more radical writers have maintained further that, in return for substantial contributions to endowments, wealthy board members have been permitted to dictate the social orientation, policies, and direction of higher education.⁴⁰ Actual facts as to the functioning of income qualifications remain largely unavailable; some persons doubtless would charge that they have been intentionally suppressed because of their possible adverse effect on public relations.

AGE

According to Elliott, Chambers, and Ashbrook, "the minimum age of twenty-one is impliedly universal, but a higher minimum is seldom set.

On the governing boards of one or two state institutions the minimum age is twenty-five years."⁴¹ No legal or charter provisions establishing an upper age limit for the trustees of the 30 universities studied are known to the author. On the contrary, the opposite of age restriction—legal provision for life terms—is the frequent pattern. Some or all of the board members of Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Princeton, Yale, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the University of Pennsylvania, and Catholic University hold office for life.⁴² On still other boards, tradition favors repeated re-elections that eventually result in the equivalent of life terms. But whether legal or traditional, life terms, in these times of lengthening life-span, automatically assure that board members often will be of advanced years. A standard retirement policy for trustees would avoid this result, but such policies are infrequent, the University of Chicago plan, adopted in 1930, being distinctly exceptional. Under the Chicago regulations, members of the governing board retire from active status at the age of 70 and become honorary trustees, having the right to attend meetings and participate, as well as to serve on standing committees, but not the privilege of voting or holding office.⁴³ The need for such a plan has been recognized also by two major foundations, the Rockefeller Foundation and the General Education Board, both of which recently adopted a policy of retiring trustees at the age of 65.⁴⁴

In so far as they have expressed judgment, authorities on higher education appear to agree that a large number of old men on governing boards handicaps progress.⁴⁵ In 1935, Charles F. Thwing wrote:

To secure members of this progressive type, it is well to elect men when they are young. The typical trustee board is composed of members too old. Seldom should an old man be chosen. If a board is subject to constant renewal by an automatic process after a service of three or five years, men of any age may fittingly be elected; but if the place is regarded as permanent, only those who have not passed beyond mature middle life are to be selected.⁴⁶

Likewise, Ashbrook summarized his judgment as follows:

The program of any institution governed chiefly by old men is almost certain to be rather conservative. These considerations indicate that it should be easier to keep an institution serving its proper function with younger men at the helm.⁴⁷

The following point of view of Hughes on age composition is similar:

In most boards there are too many old men. The average age of the members of a given board is very often too high. It would seem desirable to keep the average age between 50 and 60. It would also seem desirable that no member should serve beyond the age of 70 years. There should certainly be a substantial number of members between 30 and 50 on these boards.

It seems more important that the board should be young enough to sense the needs of the people they represent and guide the changing institutions to their

largest service, rather than that a large majority of aged men should maintain policies unchanged.⁴⁸

These statements are typical of a point of view widely held. Even the conservative William E. Chancellor listed "old men retired from business" as undesirable material for board membership.⁴⁹

SEX

The only legal sex requirement known to the author for any of the 30 boards studied is that which specifies that at least 10 of the 100 members of the University of North Carolina board must be women.⁵⁰ A similar provision that 2 members of the University of Wisconsin board must be women⁵¹ was eliminated from the statutes in 1939. Although a few institutions have recognized the special interests of women through the creation of an advisory board of women,⁵² no evidence was discovered during the present study to indicate the existence of such an advisory board for any of the 30 institutions studied. Comments on the merits of women as board members have also been limited. A few traditional writers have expressed disapproval of women for this responsibility,⁵³ while Counts, on the other hand, referred critically to the "severe discrimination" against women as members of boards of education of various types.⁵⁴ Similarly, Reeves and Russell have recommended that "in any college admitting women students it would appear advisable to provide representation of this important group of interests on the board of trustees."⁵⁵ In general, however, sex qualifications have received little discussion.

RELIGION

Privately controlled universities, when founded or supported by a religious denomination, sometimes are required by charter to have governing boards of a specific religious composition. Three-fifths of the board members of the University of Chicago, for example, must be members of Christian churches; a majority of this three-fifths must be Baptist; and members of no other denomination may at any time exceed the number of Baptists.⁵⁶ A majority of board members of Northwestern University must be members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Similarly, the Catholic University board must be composed of the Cardinals and Archbishops of the United States, and 10 bishops, 10 priests, and 10 laymen. Until amended in 1942, the Brown University bicameral board also was required to contain 30 Baptists, 5 Quakers, 5 Episcopalians, and 4 Congregationalists.⁵⁷ Such requirements are obviously designed to give dominance to a particular religious group having a special connection with the institution. Occasionally universities operate under requirements with an

opposite objective. The Cornell board, for example, may not have a majority of any one religious sect or of no religious sect.⁵⁸ Such occasional references to religious qualifications as are found in the literature likewise show a similar divergence. Persons concerned primarily with the welfare of denominational colleges and universities point out the importance of board members sympathetic with the ideals for which the institution stands,⁵⁹ while those concerned primarily with nondenominational institutions at times indicate the need either for diversity of religious representation or of selections made irrespective of denominational affiliation.

POLITICS

Legal and charter requirements do not usually place restrictions on the political affiliations of board members although occasionally provision is made for representation of both major parties.⁶⁰ For certain boards the political composition is affected by the legal provisions for ex officio membership for various state officials, such as the governor, and by the requirement that certain board members be selected by the governor or elected by popular vote.⁶¹ That political considerations often affect board selections in such cases is obvious. In fact, these methods of selection are sometimes criticized for this reason. Discussions of political qualifications by authorities on higher education are confined in the main to generalized statements opposing political influence in selection.⁶² Chambers, however, was somewhat more specific when he wrote: "It is quite obvious that one who has long been an active partisan in local politics is likely to have become committed to viewpoints which are incompatible with good service on a university governing board."⁶³

EDUCATION

The basic laws and charters for universities have not attempted to specify educational requirements for board members.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, indirect, though effective requirements of this type are imposed through the provisions of various laws and charters for the election or nomination of certain trustees by alumni. Since in practice trustees nominated or elected by alumni are regularly alumni themselves of the institution in question, this method of selection has the effect of making previous attendance at a given university a prerequisite for the attainment of certain trusteeships.

Criteria as to the type of educational background suitable for governing board members have been inadequately formulated. Writers in the field of higher education commonly have expressed the opinion that those in control of universities should themselves in most instances have had

the experience of higher education. Zook, Coffman, and Mann have amplified the value of such educational background as follows:

They [board members] should usually be men of some educational attainment, whose experience has been broad and deep enough to give them definite conceptions of the purposes of higher education and the necessary equipment and facilities to accomplish the desired ends.⁶⁵

Occasionally such related attitudes as "an enthusiastic and intelligent interest in the cause of higher education" are stressed.⁶⁶ McConn has suggested requiring that board members elected as alumni representatives must have had an honor record scholastically while in college, a proposal he justified on the grounds that since a real college is "devoted primarily to scholarship," "only those who have shown marked devotion to scholarship should participate in its government."⁶⁷ In general, remarkably little effort has been devoted to examining the role of educational background in the determination by boards of basic educational issues. Usually a college education as a proposed qualification is stated without elaboration, reservation, or challenge. Counts' view as to the possibilities of antidemocratic bias resulting from the selective character of higher education is most uncommon in the literature. In speaking of boards of education of all types, he declares:

Moreover, so long as formal education at the upper levels remains selective, the graduates of the higher institutions will not only tend to exhibit alike the stamp of the schools but also tend to engage in the same narrow group of occupations and thus to form an educational class, a class apart from the masses. Their interests will consequently appear to conflict with the interests of the great majority of the people, and they will be tempted to defend their own interests in the development of school programs.⁶⁸

RESIDENCE

In contrast to educational requirements, the geographic areas from which trustees are to be selected are often prescribed in the basic laws and charters of universities. For instance, 8 of the trustees of Princeton must be inhabitants of New Jersey, and 3 members of the Northwestern board must be residents of Illinois. The boards of the Universities of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Nebraska must contain one trustee from each district in the state, the areas usually being defined in terms of congressional districts.⁶⁹ Indiana University may not have more than one trustee from any one county with the exception of the county in which it is located, from which there may be two members.⁷⁰ Similarly, not more than one trustee from any congressional district may be appointed to the University of Missouri board.⁷¹ In contrast to these detailed legal specifications, the comments of authorities give singularly little attention to resi-

dential qualifications and their possible influence on board policy. Occasionally it is noted briefly that trustees should be geographically distributed, or that some should represent the locality in the immediate vicinity of the university, or that appointments should be made irrespective of sectional considerations. Possibly such more important matters as urban-rural orientation and familiarity with state or regional needs are given greater consideration in actual selections than the widespread silence on these issues would suggest.

FAMILY CONNECTIONS

Finally, qualifications for board membership conceivably might be framed also in terms of family connections. As far as the author is aware, however, a kinship relation has been made a formal legal requirement for only one trustee of only one of the universities studied, namely Cornell, which is required to have on its board the eldest male descendent of Ezra Cornell.⁷² Likewise, the merits of specific blood or marriage ties as a qualification for board membership have seldom been discussed by students of higher education. On the other hand, certain critics of board composition, such as Lundberg and Sinclair, have been outspoken in their denunciation of the practice of selecting for trustees members of the families of great wealth, for they fear the consequences when the direct power that inheres in governing board membership is thus handed to "America's 60 Families."⁷³ That at times kinship ties with great fortunes have been given weight in the selection of trustees would seem obvious from a perusal of the names of the 734 trustees studied.⁷⁴ Doubtless, some authorities could be found who would justify this practice on the grounds of its prestige value to the university, the economic support it encourages, and its contribution to enhanced public confidence in a society in which wealth is held in great esteem, but appointments primarily for family reasons certainly would not receive the endorsement of the better scholars of higher education.

No possible fusion of these varying and sometimes sharply divided points of view on qualifications for board membership can create an objective, scientifically determined, and final yardstick with which to measure and judge board composition as it exists in practice. Basic to a decision between conflicting opinions is one's own philosophic frame of reference and one's related judgments as to the purposes, values, and ends of higher education. Necessarily, each reader must fashion his own yardstick and apply it to the task of appraising the facts of actual board composition as revealed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER VII

OCCUPATIONS OF GOVERNING BOARD MEMBERS

With the development of our industrial civilization, the control of education has passed from the ministry. This shift of power from clergy to laymen is one of the most significant changes which have affected American education in the course of a century. This change, along with the shift of power from the farm to the city, marks the birth of a new civilization, a civilization dominated by the interests and ideals of industry, commerce, and finance—GEORGE S. COUNTS.¹

IMPORTANCE OF OCCUPATIONS OF GOVERNING BOARD MEMBERS

FEW WOULD DENY that a person's occupation is a basic factor in his life pattern. The ways in which a job affects the worker are multitudinous. It determines his standards of income and expenditure. It selects his associates during working hours, and often those for his leisure hours as well. It sets the standards of ability and education of his co-workers, determines his working environment, and influences his family's choice of neighborhood and school. Commonly, a person derives not only his major income from his job, but also many of his hopes, fears, ideas, and ideals. The job can even nullify some of the effects of his schooling, as many a distinguished professor will testify from contacts with his former students. The similarity of points of view of persons in like occupations has often been observed, as for example in the returns from polls of public opinion. Although neither complete nor automatic, the differentiation of personality patterns along occupational lines is a significant and well recognized result of specialization in modern civilization.

Undoubtedly, university governing board members are among those influenced by their means of livelihood. With few exceptions they probably spend the most important share of their waking time, interest, and effort on their occupations. In comparison, the time they can give to university matters must necessarily be minor. When these men do gather in the board room of the university, they cannot leave their occupations, with all the associated experiences, feelings, interests, prejudices, and

aspirations, on the hatrack outside the door. The banker brings to the conference table his economics; the minister, his theology; the manufacturer, his labor union policy. This inevitable influence of a person's occupation on his life outlook appears to be recognized to some extent in the selection of trustees. For example, the Harvard Alumni Association's standing committee for the nomination of governing board members has distributed annually for many years, along with the ballots, a statement of the occupational distribution of continuing members of the board, as well as occupational information regarding each candidate. Likewise, the charters of many universities provide in some fashion for the inclusion of persons from several different vocations, as has been indicated in the preceding chapter. The present chapter outlines the occupations of the 734 trustees studied. Later chapters present evidence of further selectivity within these occupations and other data suggestive of the social and economic orientation of these key figures in American higher education.

COLLECTION OF OCCUPATIONAL DATA AND METHODS OF ANALYSIS

Considerable care was exercised in the collection and classification of the vocational data for these board members. In hundreds of cases the occupation stated in *Who's Who in America* or on the biographical sheets filled in by the trustees themselves was checked with statements of occupation in alumni directories, professional directories, city directories, and similar sources.² For the 46 percent of the trustees listed in *Poor's Register of Directors* a check was made also with this source. Still a further comparison was made with data gathered by the American Association of University Professors respecting the vocations of governing board members.³ When individuals indicated that they had two occupations, ordinarily the one first stated was used.⁴ In a few cases where objective evidence revealed an egotistical overstatement of occupation, a suitable correction was made. As a result of this intensive search, occupational information was found for 98.2 percent of the 734 trustees. Most of the 13 for whom occupational information could not be located were members of state university boards.

In the basic classification of the occupational data, the procedures used by the United States Bureau of the Census were applied in order to permit comparison with census occupational totals for the United States, particularly summaries following a social-economic classification.⁵ Various supplementary reclassifications were also undertaken to secure groupings reasonably comparable with those used in certain other studies,⁶ such as that of Counts on boards of education published in 1927,⁷ those of Lindeman and Coffman on foundation boards,⁸ and the occupational

analysis of *Who's Who in America*, 1934-1935.⁹ In spite of these efforts, exact comparability between these studies was not attainable because of lack of certainty as to category definitions of other writers, because of differences in institutions and dates, and because of lack of knowledge of the composition of the "unknown" categories. Likewise, in some tables, only certain groups within the present study are used in comparisons. For example, trustees of foundations are compared only with board members of nongovernmental universities, and trustees studied by Counts, only with male members of state university boards. With a few exceptions, statistical comparisons with the findings of Clark, Calhoun, and Leighton are not feasible.¹⁰

The findings of these several analyses are presented in Tables 5 through 12. For the convenience of the reader, the textual discussion of the findings is organized around specific occupations.

PROPRIETORS, MANAGERS, AND OFFICIALS

Membership on the boards of these 30 universities proved to be divided about equally between the professions on the one hand, and proprietors, managers, and officials on the other. The latter were predominantly engaged in business and finance. The details for the various specific business and related occupations are reviewed first; these are followed by facts for the various professions. At the close of the chapter, inclusive figures for business and the professions as a whole are presented. In the main, comments reflecting the author's judgment as to the social implications of the findings are reserved for the final chapter.

Bankers, Brokers, and Financiers

Within the business group, bankers, brokers, and financiers formed one of the two largest subgroups, constituting in all 15.4 percent of the 734 trustees studied. In disproportionately large numbers, bankers from the great nationally prominent banks had been selected. This occupational group was about twice as numerous relatively on nongovernmental university boards as on state boards. Each of the 16 private university boards studied included at least one banker, broker, or financier; in fact, men from these financial vocations constituted 10 percent or more of the membership of 14 of these 16 boards. California Institute of Technology, with 39 percent from this occupation, ranked highest in this respect. In contrast to these nongovernmental universities, 5 of the 14 state university boards included no bankers at all, while the average for these state institutions was less than 10 percent.

In the perspective provided by comparisons with other groups, the high

proportion of bankers, especially on private university boards, is even more striking. For example, the percentage of bankers on nongovernmental boards is substantially higher than on the foundation boards studied by Lindeman and Coffman—and this in spite of the obvious need of foundations for counsel in the handling of large investments, a need that would seem at least equal to that of private universities. Published data do not permit a specific comparison with the proportion of bankers selected for *Who's Who in America*, 1934-1935, but it is significant that all representatives of trade, industry, and business combined formed hardly a higher percent of all eminent persons listed in that directory than did the banking group alone on nongovernmental university boards. More specific comparison is possible with the adult working population of the country; in this case the banking group is found to be 53 times as prominent numerically on these 30 boards as among the general working population.

Significant also is the phenomenal rise of bankers in board membership during the last three-quarters of a century. McGrath reported that on the nongovernmental boards that he studied bankers rose from 4.6 percent in 1860 to 20.3 percent in 1930. Likewise, on the state boards he analyzed, bankers increased from 4.4 percent in 1860 to a high point of 22.2 percent in 1910, after which there was a decline to 13.0 percent in 1930. For both types of institutions these long-term increases were the largest reported for any business occupation. Since the differences between Nearing's findings for the banking group in 1917 and those for this study as of 1934-35 are also consistent with these trends, there can be little doubt as to the growing participation of bankers and financiers in the policy functions of university governing boards.

Manufacturers and Manufacturing Officials

The manufacturing entrepreneurs and executives—the owners and the officials—were equally as prominent on the boards of these 30 leading universities as were the bankers and financiers. These two types of captains of industry together formed 15.5 percent of the membership of these boards, a percentage almost as high as that for all eminent persons from trade, industry, and business listed in *Who's Who in America*. In contrast, manufacturers constituted only about 5 percent of the foundation boards studied by Lindeman and Coffman, and only one-quarter of one percent of the general working population. Consequently, they provided 44 times as many members on these university boards, and roughly 20 times as many members on the foundation boards, as they did among the total working population. Within this manufacturing group, owners were

about 3 times as numerous as officials. The enterprises represented were usually large and powerful. They included, for example, United States Steel, duPont, General Electric, and General Motors. The proportion of manufacturing officials was slightly higher on nongovernmental boards than on state boards, but the difference was much less conspicuous than in the case of bankers. Individual universities differed widely in the proportion of manufacturing leaders chosen for board membership. Washington University, the University of Kansas, and Massachusetts Institute of Technology ranked highest in this respect, all having 30 percent or more from this group, while Catholic University, and the Universities of Minnesota, Nebraska, and Virginia included no manufacturers whatsoever on their boards. Trends for the manufacturing group were not separately studied by McGrath, but his findings did indicate that business men as a whole in all decades between 1860 and 1930 had constituted between one-fifth and two-fifths of the trustees of both private and state institutions. The business men, the bankers, and the lawyers together constituted such a high percentage of total board membership in all these decades that by acting in concert they readily could have controlled most board decisions throughout this period.

Other Types of Business Leaders

In addition to the bankers and manufacturers, various miscellaneous types of business leaders contributed to the total in the following percentages: dealers and transportation officials, 5.9; insurance officials, 1.6; real estate officials, 1.1; and other business men, 2.0. The composition of the group of 43 dealers and transportation officials illustrates again the type of business leader chosen for these boards. Eleven held positions of first-rate importance in transportation or communication organizations; 7 were wholesale dealers, importers, or exporters; and the other 25 were merchants or merchandising executives. None was a small tradesman or storekeeper of the type commonly found in the general population. The group "real estate officials" includes some of doubtful classification, as for example: (1) a trustee describing his occupation as "farming and real estate," (2) a trustee reporting his occupation as "real estate and banking" and "capitalist," (3) a corporation president who was also president of a land company and a railroad, a co-receiver of another railroad, and director of a third railroad, and (4) an ex-governor of New York, then president of Empire State, Inc., and active in management of the Empire State Building. Among those in the "other" category were such men as the following: the president of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, a key production official in the Shell Oil Co., another oil company president,

the president of one of the largest copper producing firms, another mining company president, the head of the Consolidation Coal Co., and four heads of construction firms. Among the miscellaneous business occupations, both the subclass for dealers and transportation officials and that for real estate officials reflected the usual tendency for the business men to be relatively more numerous on the private university boards than on state boards. The dealers and transportation officials and the insurance officials shared with the bankers and manufacturers the distinction of greater representation on university boards than on foundation boards. All these miscellaneous business groups were more numerous on university boards than in the general working population; the contrasts were the greatest, however, for the insurance and real estate officials.¹¹ Other comparisons and deductions as to trends are precluded by the lack of similar classifications in most other studies.¹²

Public Officials

In view of the public nature of modern universities, the representation of public officials on these boards is of particular significance. Their actual proportion among the trustees studied, however, was only 4.9 percent—a figure lower than that for bankers, for manufacturers, for dealers and transportation officials, for the legal profession, and for the clergy. Of the total of 36 public officials included, 17 were university trustees ex officio and held membership largely because of provisions in the university charters. Eight were governors; one, a lieutenant governor; one, a speaker of the state legislative assembly; and 7, state superintendents of public schools. As would be expected, public officials were almost twice as common relatively on boards of state universities as on those of nongovernmental institutions. In spite of prevailing ex officio provisions, however, public officials were only slightly more numerous proportionately on nongovernmental boards than on foundation boards. Among all the 30 university boards, they formed hardly a larger proportion than in the general list of eminent persons in *Who's Who in America*. Nevertheless, they were 29 times as numerous relatively as in the general population. Unfortunately no information on trends is available.

Farmers

In contrast to the bankers and manufacturers, farmers were conspicuous by their almost complete absence. Of the 734 trustees, only 7, or one percent, could be classed as farmers. These all belonged to the owner class, no farm tenants having been selected as board members. Only one of

the 493 trustees of nongovernmental university boards was a farmer. In addition, this farmer was also a director of a bank and an insurance company, and became a university trustee—and that for one year only—by virtue of filling another office which carried with it an ex officio seat on the university board! The other six farmers belonged to state university boards, where in some cases representation of farmers was required by law. These farmers, together with public officials, composed the only managerial groups with distinctly larger representation on state than on private university boards. One representative of agriculture, in reply to an inquiry from the author, described himself as “about the least of possible university trustees” and summarized his role during his short term on the board as follows:

During that year I attended all meetings, dutifully voted “Yes” as expected, and incidentally ate some excellent luncheons in good company. I enjoyed the experience, but a short time as ex officio member is hardly worth while counting. In fact I do not think you will wish to count such a one at all.¹³

Noteworthy also is the fact that all 7 trustees classed as farmers were members of boards of institutions offering curricula in agriculture. Not more than one farmer was on any one such board and 4 institutions offering curricula in agriculture had no farmer on their controlling board.¹⁴ This situation leads one to recall Counts’ tabulation in 1927 of the composition of 8 boards controlling state agricultural colleges. His analysis showed that 26 percent of the board members of these colleges were from agricultural pursuits, 28 percent from professional service, and 32 percent from the proprietary group, exclusive of agricultural service.¹⁵ The percentage of farmers for the 11 institutions included in the present study with curricula in agriculture was much more extreme, only 7 of the 245 board members, or 3 percent, being farmers.

Further light on the relative position of farmers on these boards is provided by several comparisons. The foundation boards were reported by both Lindeman and Coffman to contain no farmers, a pattern suggestive of that for private university boards in this study. Likewise in *Who’s Who in America*, eminent persons from agriculture were listed in exactly the same small proportion that characterized farmers on these 30 university boards. This small percentage was, of course, a marked contrast to the proportion of farmers in the nation, for in this country in 1930 farmers were nearly twice as numerous as were all other proprietary and managerial workers combined. Although constituting nearly 8 percent of the workers in the nation, farmers provided only one percent of the trustees of these leading universities. In contrast, the ratio of the percentage of bankers on these boards to the percentage of bankers in the nation was 408

times as high as that for farmers, that for manufacturers 338 times as high, and that for public officials 223 times as high.

Moreover, the trends with respect to the inclusion of farmers on university boards have not been such as to give encouragement to those who believe in the social importance of representation for agricultural pursuits. In 1860, 15.2 percent of the governing board members of state educational institutions studied by McGrath were farmers, but by 1930 the figure was only 8.7. On boards of nongovernmental institutions, the percentage shrank from 2.1 to 0.2 over the same period. Percentages for this study for 1934-35 were still lower than those quoted by McGrath for 1930. Also, they were considerably lower than Nearing's findings for 1917, Clark's findings for a similar period and Counts' findings for 1926, although part or all of these differences might be due to differences in the institutions studied. In fact, findings for this study approach closely the complete absence of farmers reported by Calhoun for the sample of trustees that he analyzed. This progressive displacement of farmers by business leaders has proceeded despite the increasing number of farmers who are graduates of state university agricultural courses, despite the high proportion of the nation's children and university students of farm origin, and despite the well-known power of farm organizations in state and national politics.

PROFESSIONAL PERSONS

Lawyers and Judges

By far the largest professional group and also the largest single occupational group on the boards studied was the legal profession—the lawyers and the judges—who accounted for more than a quarter of the 734 governing board members. Together they constituted more than half of all professional workers on these boards and outnumbered any other single profession 4 to 1. Thirty-nine percent of the state university trustees belonged to this profession and 20 percent of nongovernmental board members. Every one of the 30 boards included at least one member from this profession—the only occupational group so universally included in membership. Sixteen of the boards included 25 percent or more from this profession; 4, 50 percent or more; and one, 75 percent. The type of lawyer selected is suggested by the fact that 21 of the group were officers or directors of one or more of the 400 largest corporations of the nation; 11, of 2 or more such businesses; and 6, of 3 or more. The legal profession was slightly more numerous on nongovernmental boards than on foundation boards as portrayed by Lindeman and by Coffman. It was more than twice as numerous on these university boards as in *Who's Who in America* and 125 times as numerous as among the general working popu-

lation—the highest comparative ratio found for any occupational group on these boards.

As contrasted with business men and bankers, lawyers have maintained for a long period a prominent role in the government of both private and state universities. With few exceptions all studies have shown lawyers to be the largest occupational group on state university boards. McGrath's findings indicate that the proportion in this profession on the state university boards he studied has been rising each decade since 1910 from a low at that time of about 24 percent. For his sample of nongovernmental boards, McGrath's data show that the proportion of lawyers reached a high point of nearly 27 percent in 1920 and declined somewhat the following decade. At the beginning of each ten-year period since 1890, lawyers, in combination with business men and bankers, never constituted less than 60 percent of either these private or these state university boards—a clear majority.

Clergymen

Among the professions the ministry ranked second to the legal profession in numbers on these boards. Of the 734 board members studied, 48, or 6.6 percent, were clergymen, of whom more than half were bishops or archbishops. Twenty-nine of these 48 were Catholic clergymen and 19, non-Catholic. All the 29 Catholic priests belonged to the governing board of Catholic University, where they outnumbered the laity approximately 3 to 1. The Northwestern University board was the only other with a substantial number of ministers. Representation of the clergy on the remaining boards was small. Eight of the 16 nongovernmental boards and 11 of 14 state university boards included no representation from the ministry. Altogether, the clergymen constituted about 9 percent of the membership of these nongovernmental boards, but only about one percent of these state university boards. Moreover, representation of the clergy appeared to have little relation to the extent of advanced study of religion in the universities governed by these boards. Of the 201 earned doctorates in religion granted by these 30 institutions during the preceding decade, 112 were awarded by the University of Chicago, although that board included only one minister; another 54 were awarded by Yale, which likewise had only one minister on its board. Catholic University, on the other hand, with 29 priests on its board, awarded only 3 such advanced degrees in religion during these 10 years.¹⁶

In spite of these generally low proportions, the clergymen were somewhat more numerous on the 16 nongovernmental boards than on the boards of American foundations as analyzed by Lindeman and Coff-